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## Deputation Number.

### THE ABANDONMENT OF UGANDA.

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55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON E.C.

# The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

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# Deputation to the Earl of Rosebery, K.G.,

FROM THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

AGAINST

## The Threatened Abandonment of Uganda and its Effect upon the Slave-Trade.

IN view of the disastrous consequences which it is feared would follow the threatened abandonment of Uganda, a large and influential Deputation from the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, comprised of Members of the Committee and Officials of the Society, and also of Gentlemen from all parts of the country, waited upon the RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, K.G., Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (with whom were Mr. MUNRO-FERGUSON, M.P., and the HONOURABLE F. H. VILLIERS) at the Foreign Office, on October 20, 1892, to lay the views of the Society before the Government.

Owing to the short time at their disposal, it was impossible to make the invitations so general as could have been wished; and, moreover, many gentlemen of influence, who would have been glad to attend, had engagements for that day.

The Rev. HORACE WALLER was asked by the Committee to support the Memorial, which advocated the construction of a railway from Mombasa to the Lake—it always having been the policy of the Society to urge the opening up of the interior of Africa, wherever possible, by roads, railroads and steamers on the Lakes, as amongst the most powerful agencies in destroying the Slave-trade. Unfortunately, however, that gentleman gave prominence to an opinion of his own, that he was “not sanguine enough to suppose for one moment that that railway will make a very appreciable difference in the export of Slaves from Africa”; and LORD ROSEBERY, in his reply, was quick to point out that the speaker had “himself said that it would not be a great anti-Slavery agency.”

The discussion, which was in danger of falling into the lower level of a mere difference of opinion, was fortunately raised to a higher tone by subsequent speakers, including the Presidents of the London and Liverpool Chambers of Commerce, and others. Mr. BOSWORTH SMITH touched a chord which vibrated through the large assembly, when he spoke of the continuity of the moral policy of England—a point which formed the key-note of LORD ROSEBERY'S statesmanlike and eloquent speech.



The Deputation had every reason to be gratified with the reception accorded to it by the Foreign Secretary, and it may fairly be said to have come away with the strong hope that Her Majesty's Government will, before long, publicly state that it believes, with LORD ROSEBURY, "that having put our hands to the plough in that great enterprise, we shall not be able, even if we were willing, to look back."

The Press throughout the country was prompt to recognise the importance of the object brought before the Government by the Deputation, and in the large majority of instances a warm support was given to the action taken by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

We append a verbatim report of the proceedings, and a number of Editorial articles from representative journals.

We insert these articles, whether friendly or otherwise, and are not responsible for any personal criticisms.

The following Members of Committee and Officials of the Society were present :—

ARTHUR PEASE, J.P., *President*; JOSEPH ALLEN, *Treasurer*; ARTHUR ALBRIGHT, J.P.; W. W. BAYNES, J.P.; G. BINYON; J. V. CRAWFORD; DR. R. N. CUST; SIR F. J. GOLDSMID, K.C.S.I.; HENRY GURNEY; EDWARD HARRISON; FRANCIS RECKITT, J.P.; REV. HORACE WALLER; W. H. WYLDE, C.M.G.; REV. J. C. YARBOROUGH; CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary*; J. EASTOE TEALL, *Assistant Secretary*; FRED. C. BANKS, *Travelling Agent*.

THE following Gentlemen also accepted invitations to be present. (*Where address is omitted it is understood that Gentlemen reside in London and its environs*):—

Lord Kinnaid; Sir Richard Temple, Bart., M.P.; Sir Albert Rollit, M.P., President London Chamber Commerce; Sir J. E. Dorington, Bart., M.P.; Col. E. T. Gourley, M.P.; Joseph Howard, M.P.; James Hozier, M.P.; E. Ashmead-Bartlett, M.P.; J. Albert Pease, M.P.; L. Atherley-Jones, M.P.; E. H. Bayley, M.P.; F. Wootton Isaacson, M.P.; Abel Smith, M.P.; R. G. Webster, M.P.; Henry Kimber, M.P.; C. Ernest Tritton, M.P.; G. C. T. Bartley, M.P.; F. S. W. Cornwallis, M.P.; Sir E. J. Harland, Bart., M.P.; W. F. Lawrence, M.P.; Sir George Errington, Bart.; Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.; Sir Frederick Young; Mr. T. Fowell Buxton, *Ware*; Wm. Fowler, J.P., *Harlow*; G. Theodore Crosfield; Rev. Wm. Allan, D.D.; B. R. Balfour, *Ireland*; S. W. Silver, *Wantage*; Ellis A. Franklin; George Skey, *Malvern*; Richard Helme, *Reynoldstone*; Major-Gen. G. Hutchinson; M. H. Sutton, *Reading*; L. P. Allen, *Crowborough*; Rev. H. Morris; Gen. J. Walker; J. T. Southall, *Ross*; Lt.-Gen. Brownlow; Clarence A. Roberts; J. E. Gardner; Samuel Lloyd, *Birmingham*; J. Hough, *Cambridge*; Ewan Christian; Joseph Kennedy, *India*; W. W. Glenny, J.P. (*V. P., Essex*).



C.C.); Rev. Canon Garratt, *Ipswich*; John King, Jun., *Manchester*; W. C. Parkinson; H. H. Richardson, C.C.; P. V. Smith; Robert Smith; J. B. Snell, *Chislehurst*; Rev. Henry Venn; R. D. Crawford; Col. S. B. Bevington, *Beckenham*; R. Bosworth Smith, *Harrow*; W. T. Malleson; John Dixon, *Leeds*; Rev. Wm. Williams; Dr. Williams, *British Guiana*; E. Herbert Fison, *Ipswich*; Alfred W. Bennett; Frank Spence, *Manchester*; A. R. Gallé (Hutton & Co.), *Manchester*; Edward Saunders; Rev. J. Kirkman; Samuel James Capper; Eliot Howard, J.P.; T. Reid Arnott; Wm. Tallack; H. Soden; J. Kennedy; Chas. H. Woodd; Alfred H. Baynes; John Hilton; T. M. Wells; Charles MacArthur (President Liverpool Chamber Commerce); Sydney Gedge; C. J. Thomas, C.C.; D. R. Dale, C.C.; W. Carey Morgan; J. Scott Keltie, (R.G.S.); Rev. A. J. Arnold; Rev. B. Latrobe; Goodwin Rooth; H. I. Pooley; Rev. Duncan Travers; A. Bywater; S. F. Armitage, *Nottingham*; Dr. Ranger; F. Sellwood, *Cullompton*; John McCall; Quintin Hogg; General W. H. Noble, *Redhill*; Donald Matheson; Edward Alexander; F. A. Bevan; Lieut.-Gen. J. G. Touch; Lieut.-Gen. J. A. Feilden, *Blackburn*; J. A. Tinling; Eli Sowerbutts, *Manchester*; J. Campbell White, *Dumbarton*; John Cowan, *Beeslack*; Robert Barclay, *Hoddesdon*; R. Dixon; Bernard F. Bussy; Joseph Armfield; Hussey Walsh, *Ireland*; Lewis E. Newnham, B.A.; W. Wyley Lord, *Birmingham*; Rev. A. R. Buckland; S. L. Kymer, *Manchester*; Wm. Morgan, *Birmingham* and *Winchester*; Mark Whitwill, *Bristol*, &c. About 120 gentlemen were present.

MR. ARTHUR PEASE (President of the Society), in introducing the Deputation, said: My Lord,—I have the honour to present this Deputation which you have so kindly consented to receive from the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. I need hardly remind you that we have no political connection; we have no relationship to any religious creed, nor have we any commercial interests to serve. Our one object is the promotion of the anti-Slavery cause throughout the world. We feel, in taking the course we are taking to-day, that we are only acting consistently with the course which we have taken in times past when we were pioneers of a project for the development of a railway between Suakim and Berber, in the hope that there might be developed a large and legitimate trade with the central portions of Africa. To-day we welcome, therefore, the intervention of English interests and civilisation in the districts of the Victoria-Nyanza; and to-day we have come here to express a hope that the project for a railway may be started by Her Majesty's Government, not, as I have said, in the interests of commercial enterprise, but in the belief that the presence of English authority will tend to do away with the Slave-trade and Slavery.

The object of the Society has always been to do away with Slavery by pacific means. According to our Constitution we are bound to exercise only moral, religious, and pacific means, and we believe our efforts in that direction, therefore, have been to do away with the status of Slavery, and to

develop legitimate commercial enterprise. We believe if that country was opened out by a railway the effect would be to put a serious check upon the Slave-trade existing at present throughout the districts, and also develop a not unimportant commercial enterprise and the doing away with the necessity of the large number of porters at present engaged for the conveying of traffic through those districts.

There are Gentlemen here, my Lord, who will address you with more perfect knowledge than I have of the details of the question ; but I hope that Her Majesty's Government will feel the responsibility which rests upon them, as representing a country that has always taken a warm interest in the repression of Slavery, to do all they can to do away with the traffic in human beings and the horrors which have always accompanied the Slave-trade.

Mr. ALLEN, our Secretary, will present to your Lordship the address which has been prepared by the Committee, and will also hand your Lordship letters from several Gentlemen who are unable to be present to-day. The list which lies on the table is a list of the names of those Gentlemen who have accepted invitations up to mid-day to-day ; but doubtless there are many Gentlemen present whose names do not appear upon that list. I now call upon Mr. ALLEN to present your Lordship with the address.

LORD ROSEBERY : I am in possession of the address, thank you.

The Memorial was as follows :—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, K.G.,  
HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

MY LORD,—The BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY contemplates with deep apprehension the immediate or even the prospective retirement of British Agents from the sphere of action assigned to England in the regions of the equatorial lakes of Africa.

Whilst the Slave-trade and Slave-hunting, in its various forms, have long prevailed in these countries, it is the persuasion of this Society that the withdrawal of those Powers, which have lately in some degree placed a check upon Slave raiding, will be followed by an outburst of hostilities, and an immediate expansion of the Slave-trade.

To avert such a catastrophe and, at the same time, to avoid an indefinite extension of Imperial responsibilities, the Society would ask Her Majesty's Government to afford its guarantee, for a longer or a shorter period, of the interest on the capital required for the construction of the railway now being surveyed, from the harbour of Mombasa to the Victoria-Nyanza, and to establish a Protectorate in the country in question, under a duly appointed Commissioner, as in the case of Nyassaland.

The Society considers that by such an arrangement the British Government will best and most effectively fulfil its share of the obligations which the several Powers of Europe entered into at the Conference, held at Brussels, for the suppression of the Slave-trade.

The following are the Articles to which reference is made in support of this contention :—

ARTICLE I.

2. The gradual establishment in the interior by the Powers to which the territories are subject of strongly occupied stations, in such a way as to make their protective or repressive action effectively felt in the territories devastated by Slave-hunting.

3. The construction of roads, and in particular of railways, connecting the advanced stations with the coast, and permitting easy access to the inland waters, and to such of the upper courses of the rivers and streams as are broken by rapids and cataracts, in view of substituting economical and rapid means of transport for the present means of carriage by men.

The Society would also call your Lordship's attention to Article 4, which runs as follows :—

ARTICLE IV.

The States exercising sovereign powers or protectorates in Africa may in all cases delegate to Companies provided with Charters all or a portion of the engagements which they assume in virtue of Article III. They remain, nevertheless, directly responsible for the engagements which they contract by the present Act, and guarantee the execution thereof. The Powers promise to receive, aid, and protect the national Associations and enterprises due to private initiative which may wish to co-operate in their possessions in the repression of the Slave-trade, subject to their receiving previous authorisation, such authorisation being revocable at any time, subject also to their being directed and controlled, and to the exclusion of the exercise of rights of sovereignty.

In conclusion, the Society would only add that, in pressing on Her Majesty's Government the adoption of these measures, it does so in the full confidence that such action will commend itself to the sanction and support of the people of England.

On behalf of the Society,

I have the honour to be

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

CHAS. H. ALLEN,

*Secretary.*

55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.,

*October 7th, 1892.*



MR. CHARLES H. ALLEN, Secretary of the Society : My Lord, I have a few letters from distinguished persons who are unable to attend. The first is from LORD ABERDEEN, expressing his great sympathy. The next is from the Lord Mayor of London, who is, unfortunately, out of town to-day, or he would have been here. He heartily concurs with the movement. The only letter which I need trouble your Lordship with reading is a very short one, but it is a very important one. It is from Archbishop VAUGHAN, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, and I may say that it is satisfactory to us to feel that we have his sympathies with us. He says, "I leave London at 9.15 to-morrow, for Liverpool, and shall not be at home again till Friday. I hope Uganda will not be evacuated to our shame, and the entire abandonment of our great mission." Then there is a letter from Sir JOSEPH PEASE, heartily supporting the making of railways, and another from one of the Members for the City, Sir REGINALD HANSON, who is unable to attend. He also sympathises thoroughly with us. There is one from another Member of Parliament, Sir FRANCIS SHARPE-POWELL, M.P., expressing sympathy, but inability to attend, and one from Mr. JAMES STEVENSON, who is well-known in connection with the Anti-Slavery cause. He regrets that his state of health prevents his attending, and expresses his sympathy with the movement. I had received a letter from Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, M.P., stating his inability to attend, but I am glad to say that he is now present. I will not trouble your Lordship further, except to say that our Vice-President wished these various documents to be handed in for your Lordship's consideration at a future time. (*See page 276.*)

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, M.P. : My Lord, the objects of this Deputation, and the printed Memorial, will be well explained no doubt to-day, by succeeding speakers, to your Lordship, but I have been asked to offer or submit a few remarks of an introductory character to you.

It is unnecessary to dilate before your Lordship upon the existence, and not only upon the existence, but upon the prevalence, of the Slave-trade in Eastern Africa, and the duty of England to repress it in every way it possibly can. Now, this repression may be carried out by operations at sea or by operations on land, or by both. As regards operations by sea, I am in a position to assure your Lordship, and all friends present to-day, that they have failed on the whole, despite the enduring and undying efforts of all the officers concerned. Many of those operations have at different times been under my own cognizance, as Governor or Administrator in our Indian Empire. I wish that our friend the late Sir LEWIS PELLY could have been here to-day. He would have spoken with the authority possessed by no one else as to the effect of our maritime and marine operations upon the suppression of the Slave-trade, and would have told you that they have not resulted in success. So convinced was he that they never could be successful that he joined, purely for patriotic reasons, the Imperial British East Africa Company.

Now, if operations by sea cannot succeed, we turn to the operations on land, and your Lordship will at once say, "How are such operations to be conducted in East Africa?" We answer, "By making a railway from Mombasa to some point on the Eastern shore of Lake Nyanza." But, again, your Lordship may perhaps be inclined to say, "Can a railway be made in such a country as Africa without the co-operation of the natives, or will such co-operation be afforded; and, secondly, if it is made can it be easily defended?" Now, perhaps, I myself have had as much experience in pioneering, and opening out railways in half-civilised countries as most men, and I venture to believe, and to assert my belief, that if a railway of that kind were attempted in such a country as East Africa is known to be, the natives would undoubtedly co-operate for their own advantage, for the sake of permanent employment, and the good pay which they would get securely from the British authorities. Secondly, we know, from our Indian experience, that a railway once made in a semi-civilised country is always defensible. It, indeed, defends itself. The facility offered by the railway and the engines for the transport of men, arms, and materials, the additional European power which a railway brings into a country, enabling a company or the railway authorities to defend every station by means of volunteer corps, formed from among their own European *employés*, and many other sources of that description, render a railway, once made, easily and certainly defensible. But then, perhaps, your Lordship may say, as regards Uganda, and the possibility of establishing a Protectorate there, "What assistance would this railway give?" It would give a certain base for operations, which base would at first be on the eastern shore of the Lake. Once get a railway terminus there, you can establish steam communication across the great Lake, and then you will have a further base on the western shore, so that ultimately it would be the western shore of the Lake that would prove the basis of a British Protectorate in Uganda. Now, when one comes to think of Protectorates in semi-barbarous countries, and the location of a British Agent there, with perhaps a force of limited strength and of doubtful fidelity, one instinctively dreads a repetition of accidents that have happened to British envoys similarly situated, and an apprehension arises lest some untoward matter of that kind should recur in Uganda. But, according to the plan which we venture to recommend, the British nation would have a far better security against the possibility of such an accident, because you first have your railway base on the eastern shore, your steam communication across the Lake, and your base upon the western shore. From that foundation on the western shore the superstructure of a British Protectorate in Uganda could undoubtedly be made. The Agent, or British Representative, by whatever name he may be called, resting upon that foundation would be secure. He would advance or not advance into the interior according to his discretion, under the circumstances of the time, circumstances regarding which it is not possible to form any judgment in

Europe. But the great thing, I repeat, is to give him his base. Once having got on the Lake he will know how to spread his wings, so to speak, or to stretch out his arms into the interior of the country, and so restore peace and order there. Once a Protectorate with such a foundation is established, the good it will do is so great that I need not dilate upon it now, or, if any further exposition of it is necessary, I trust it will be furnished by succeeding speakers.

I will only conclude by saying this much—that whether Uganda is the true headquarters of the Slave-trade or not it is certainly one of the several headquarters of that inhuman traffic that is spread over a large part of Africa, and whether the various routes of the Slave-trade which radiate from the interior towards the coast all spring from Uganda or not, there is no doubt that several trade routes do so originate, and that is better known, perhaps, to the Germans than to ourselves. But irrespective of the question of headquarters, and the question of the routes which the traffic takes, there is this—that Uganda itself becomes a most unhappy hunting-ground for the Slave-traders and the Slave-hunters, from the fact of these civil disorders which have caused so much lamentation and excitement all over the world. It cannot be too clearly understood in England that these internecine feuds do themselves cause Slavery. Every tribe that fights its neighbour and is defeated pays the penalty of defeat not in money but in the blood of its citizens, who are drawn into Slavery. It pays in men—the most awful way of paying in kind that can be imagined. Therefore every one of these fights that you hear of in Uganda becomes the means of drawing the captives and the vanquished into Slavery. If, therefore, by the measures which we recommend, England be made the means of restoring order in that distracted country, that alone will be one of the most potent methods of repressing Slavery.

I trust, my Lord, that better and fuller details will be furnished to you by other speakers.

THE REV. HORACE WALLER : My Lord, the honour that falls to me of addressing you is owing to the fact that I have an acquaintance with the Slave routes through Africa. The Memorial which has been placed in your Lordship's hands deals mainly with three points : the suggested withdrawal of the British presence from Uganda, the construction of a railway to the coast from the Victoria-Nyanza, and, further, the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY looks, with some anxiety, to see the establishment in Uganda of a Protectorate similar to that in Nyassaland.

With regard to the first subject—the withdrawal from Uganda—I am sure it will delight those who are here present, to whom the good news has not yet come, to know that we have intelligence to tell us that up to the 18th of August all was well in Uganda. That speaks well, I think, for the discernment of Captain LUGARD, and the tenacity of purpose of Captain WILLIAMS, who has most loyally carried out the programme set him by his superior officer. With regard to the state of Uganda itself, I think we must come,



perhaps, to closer quarters than Sir RICHARD TEMPLE ventured upon just now. Uganda, at the present moment, as far as we know it, is represented by those who have become really fanatical Christians. I make no distinction for this purpose between the Roman Catholic party and the party which has been raised up by the exertions of the Church Missionary Society. There is also a third party there—the Mohammedan party. They are fanatical men, who are led by very fanatical chiefs; but they are so far impressed by the gravity of the situation placed before them by Captain LUGARD that the Waganda look upon any participation in the Slave-trade at the present moment with aversion. I have this from Captain LUGARD's own lips within the last hour or two, and it goes far to shew that they themselves look upon the Slave-trade with great aversion. They regard the matter from a common sense point of view. They say: "Our country has lost a very large portion of its population already by the Slave-trade, and sending Slaves out of our country would be suicidal at this time." And, again, they say: "Inasmuch as we feel that the countries to the north of our own are inhabited by people who are also under the British Queen, thanks to your presence here, it would be an act of villainy on our parts were we to venture into these outlying districts which are united territorially and historically with Uganda, and to take Slaves thence." So that at the present moment, I think, we may congratulate ourselves on the fact that, however bad the Slave-trade might have been in Uganda, at present it is not allowed. (Hear, hear.) I think, my Lord, I have detected an anxiety on your part, owing to what has taken place at other meetings, to know if there really are any great Slave routes from Uganda to the coast. It has been the duty of the Society, with which I have the honour to work, to make all the investigations possible on that point, and I can only say that we know of no routes—routes, in the proper sense of the word. The whole of the East Coast of Africa oozes with the Slave-trade. There is not a creek, there is not a man who owns a dhow, that does not know something of this atrocious trade; but to talk of a collection of Slaves taking place in Uganda in order that they may be marched down in thousands and tens of thousands, as they are in the Portuguese dominions on the East Coast of Africa, is speaking beside the fact altogether. One must speak the truth, and it will do no harm here if, in parenthesis, I say there has been, to a certain extent, a Slave route, and that one does exist at the present moment. But when Slaves are seen going through that country in large numbers I am ashamed to say that it is very often for the purpose of taking provisions from Mombasa to the British East Africa Company's headquarters in Uganda. It has been known to your Lordship, and all those who are present here, that there has been a downward pouring of Slaves—not many of them; but in times past, when Mr. STANLEY took away from Zanzibar a very large number of Slaves indeed, and brought his remnant back, those Slaves came down along what we may call, if you like, a Slave route, to go back to their Slave labour. Such is the state of things at the present

moment ; and again, I say, it is best for us to look these facts in the face if we are to try and put our heads together and lay the thing before Her Majesty's Government in such a shape that they may be able to deal with the question of the Slave-trade. Referring once more to Uganda as it is, we have there a body of men with whom we must reckon in the future—the cruellist body of men—I mean the Egyptian troops. Their history is known to most of us here. Originally, with the full blast of the Disaster of Khartoum upon them, they were driven back into the swampy districts of the Upper Nyanza—kneaded into shape and kneaded out of shape again by that singular personage, EMIN PASHA—they at last were manipulated by Mr. STANLEY as he traversed the country. More recently they have come into touch with Captain LUGARD, who has brought them down from Lake Albert, and has made great use of such awkward raw material in the course of his endeavours. About 600 of these men are at present doing service. They sent home to the Khedive of Egypt to learn whether they were still to remain under his flag, as they believed they were, but the Khedive has washed his hands entirely of these men. Six hundred of them, I believe, are amply armed, and 1,000 might be brought up to the roll of the drum. Now these men are well versed in all the arts of atrocity. I believe there are no men who despise human life more than they do, but still they know something of discipline, and under Captain LUGARD they have done very good work. At the present moment they are holding a fortress towards the Albert Edward Lake, and they have thrown back the Slave-traders who, under some of the emissaries of TIPPOO TIB, have already reached a country teeming with population, where they hope to sweep up myriads of Slaves for their own purposes. Now we cannot disguise from ourselves the fact that these men will be a leaven in this Lake region for good or for evil. They, when Captain LUGARD left them, were thoroughly impressed with the belief that Her Majesty's Government was represented there ; that the English flag meant all that the English flag does mean in these strange and out of the way countries, and they were loyal to that flag. I only ask your Lordship what will be the effect on them if we have to withdraw from that country? Are they to be let loose upon these miserable people already tortured in Uganda by dissensions within and by armies hovering outside them? Are they, in a fit of disgust, for they are ready for evil—to throw in their lot with men like TIPPOO TIB, and heat the furnace of affliction in this country seven times hotter than it was before? To withdraw them, I think, would be a most difficult thing. I believe I am right in saying that they are one month's distance, hard marching, already from Uganda, and if they are to be withdrawn by the 31st of March there is not twenty-four hours to lose. This is a subject which, no doubt, your Lordship has had fully under your consideration. With regard to Uganda, I am afraid it is necessary to remind ourselves that Captain LUGARD lays greater stress upon the importance of the countries which lie immediately to the north of so-called Uganda than to Uganda

itself, I mean with a view to turning the country to good use. He, a man of great capacity, a man of vast resources, has fortunately found in that country salt mines, which, to use his own expression, are more valuable than gold mines there; and I believe he is not exaggerating at all when he says that there is a way really of keeping up a force at a very moderate rate indeed to hold the whole of that country; this, I think, casts a ray of hope upon the whole question. But before I pass on rapidly to the second question, I should like to deal, with some emphasis, with the question of the Treaties. Now those Treaties have been placed before the King of the country; they have been witnessed by those who saw the King's signature attached, and we cannot conceal from ourselves that it is no use merely saying that Captain LUGARD was acting for the British East Africa Company. My Lord, there is a bill in that country, and although the signature on the back of it is, perhaps, not so legible as it might be—the ink, perhaps, not so black as we should expect it to be, and the hand, perhaps, a little faltering—that bill has been backed, to all intents and purposes, so far as those countries are concerned, by Her Britannic Majesty's Government. It is understood there, and Captain LUGARD never hesitated for one moment to represent to the people (and he believed he was acting within his rights), that he stood there as the representative of the British Nation, as well as of the British East Africa Company. I believe he was right, whatever may be thought in other quarters. It is of course a serious question. We are dealing there not with savages—the people there are a head and shoulders above the usual stature of savages—we are dealing with people upon whom the best instincts of this country have already had a great deal of influence; and we are dealing, with our eyes open to the fact, that misery abroad and misery at home incalculable has been caused by what was called the “leaving of General GORDON in the lurch,” “Majuba Hill,” and so forth. I only trust we may be saved from all the misery, the bickerings, and quarrelling consequent upon a fact which would be made known all over the world, that such a treaty as this had been not negotiable after all, but had been left as so much waste-paper in the wilds of Africa.

With regard to the railway, I am not sanguine enough to suppose for one moment that that railway will make a very appreciable difference in the export of Slaves from Africa. Slaves at the present moment are teeming in our protectorate of Zanzibar. That is another anomaly, which, perhaps, one must look obliquely at. We do not know how many Slaves at the present moment are under the British flag at Zanzibar and Pemba, two islands for which we exchanged the Island of Heligoland; but I venture to say when this country thoroughly understands that these poor wretched Slaves are working there in tens of thousands, they will say with one voice that they never understood, at all events, that in taking over Pemba and Zanzibar in exchange for Heligoland they were taking over so many tens of thousands of Slaves as are there at present. But the railway I have no doubt can be made. There



are many curious calculations hovering about. We are told that it will take many millions of money to make it. Those people who tell us so, of course, are wiser than the engineers who have been sent out by Her Majesty's Government. But I believe I am right in saying that the proper computation is that two and a half millions will suffice for the construction of a railway from the coast to the Lake, including the stations and necessary wells. This is not a very alarming sum, and, as a civilising agency, I venture to say that it will have its effect on every mile of African soil through which it passes. We are not to suppose for one moment that these Africans are exactly the same as English. They will not all rush to borrow a spade or a pick to lay down a railway. Their nature is far different from that; but they have been put to great straits lately. A sort of rinderpest has swept through the whole of that part of Africa, and the people who are in possession as pastoral tribes are at present without capital. I think that may be a fact which could be turned to good account. The people may be glad, proud as they were, a few years ago, to dig and not be ashamed of it. To those people anything like digging and hoeing a few years ago was a matter of horror. One would not lay too much stress upon this, however; but I do think, if we can realise that at the present moment in the transit of goods the caravans which accompany the traffic are all filled up with hired Slaves, it rather gives one's conscience a jog, and one would hope to see a railway made if only that such an anomaly as that could be done away with. We see caravans and Slaves sent off under the direction of a Board of Management, amongst which one sees such honoured names as KIRK and BUXTON and MACKINNON. I think that is a thing which ought to spur us on, at all events, to look the facts in the face, and do away with a scandal of this kind.

Then, in conclusion, my Lord, it has been my very, very happy lot in this life to have had something to do with the development of one part of Africa. I was in Nyassaland with LIVINGSTONE, when, I believe, we broke the first Slave chains and liberated the first Slaves who were ever liberated in Central Africa. I have lived to see that country now become well settled. I know, as a fact, that the coffee that is produced there is fetching from 100s. to 112s. in this country. It is even too good to be bought in Natal, and must come home, as the choicest coffee, to England. I know when a steamer left England, some months ago, that thirty-three missionaries and settlers went out there, and I looked with happiness upon the fact that we had the very best of men amongst them, men representing the Free and Established Churches of Scotland working hand in hand with the Universities' Mission, and trying all they could to show to the natives the unanimity which can be shown amongst Christians of all grades when united in one common object. My Lord, I see a near prospect of that country paying its way. I think mistakes are being made, it is true, as to taxation, for instance; but they only want adjustment, and I would say that after this having become a *fait accompli* in one part of Africa, if we can be helped, it is not merely an Utopian dream when we hope to see Uganda and

the neighbouring districts settled up in time to come. Captain LUGARD also did great service in Nyassaland in years gone by; he has been now to Uganda, and he is in a position to compare notes as to the two countries. He told me a few hours ago that he considers that both Nyassaland and Uganda are quite healthy enough for Europeans to live in. But I do not think that he disguises, and I certainly should not disguise from myself, the fact that any tropical country has its dangers; but certainly there the dangers cannot be greater than they are in parts of India, where there is no hesitation at all in sending either civilians or military men.

I have already taken up more time than perhaps I ought to have done, but I have not disguised the facts from your Lordship. I have tried to show you that as a Society we are forced to probe deeply, and probe thoroughly, and I do not hide from your Lordship that, with all the intelligence that has come to us, and all the researches we have made, we fairly shudder at the prospect of that country being left in a worse state than it was, by the withdrawal of the representatives of Great Britain. We know that it has hovering round it hundreds and thousands of disappointed Mohammedans, who will take very good care, if these people are left forlorn, to wreak upon them that vengeance which at present is held at arm's length by those who have been sent forth by a Company, and whose actions have been endorsed by Her Majesty's Government.

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT (President of the London Chamber of Commerce): My Lord, I know that the primary object of this Deputation is philanthropic, and I realise, in speaking for a moment, and only for a moment, on commerce, that I do so from a lower standpoint; but as the extension of trade is calculated to restrict the traffic in Slaves, I have been asked, as Chairman of the London Chamber of Commerce, to express the feeling of the commercial world upon this subject. And I do so with this advantage, that the London Chamber of Commerce has always taken a very great, and, I think, a practical interest in this matter. It has a section devoted entirely to the consideration of African affairs, and it has had the advantage of being addressed from time to time by leaders in African exploration—Mr. STANLEY, Mr. JEPHSON, and others—who have been able to give it information which is reliable and useful. I am also able to say, from having heard Mr. JEPHSON address the Associated Chambers of Commerce, that the same feeling prevails in a body which represents the whole commerce of the country, and I think I may express the same feeling, especially in the presence of one or two friends whom I see, on behalf of the Hull Chamber of Commerce—because, when I mention Hull, I suggest WILBERFORCE, and I do not hesitate to say that probably the preferential position we occupy in Africa for civilising purposes is due to that man and that town, which took a lead in those early days in the suppression of traffic in Slaves.

The commercial basis from which I speak is, of course, the necessity of new fields and new markets, and when I say that, I recall an expression from

Mr. JEPHSON's address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce, in which he told us that there were many natural resources for trade, both import and export, with this country. There is export in the shape of coffee, which, I believe is indigenous, and oil, and ivory, and probably in the future, tea, and gold, and cotton. I believe the great bulk of the cotton produced is not used in the country, and when, on the other hand, there are many of our great towns at this moment needing new outlets for their trade, which is languishing, I think the argument, from the commercial point of view, is beyond question. My Lord, I need go no further than the admirable trade reports which are issued from your own Foreign Office, I believe, under the direction of Mr. KENNEDY, the whole burden of which nearly, is the necessity, not only of finding new markets, but taking care that those markets are utilised in the most enterprising manner, and nothing can be more certain than, if we abandon this position, that commercially it will be soon utilised by other and competing nations. (Hear, hear). Under those circumstances, I desire to express the approval, shortly, but as forcibly as I can, of the commercial world, and the strong feeling that Her Majesty's Government would be doing a wise and proper thing in helping us to keep this country. (Applause.)

MR. MACARTHUR: I have much pleasure, my Lord, in endorsing the remarks of the previous speaker. He has informed you that, in connection with the London Chamber of Commerce, there is a section devoted to African affairs. We have also a similar section in Liverpool, and I can assure your Lordship that we view with the greatest apprehension the proposal to abandon Uganda, which will, we believe, lead to bloodshed. We view British control as necessary not only for its better civilisation, but in order that Africa may become a field for civilisation and trade in the future. I do not for a moment ignore the strong considerations which have been placed before your Lordship by previous speakers. I fully believe that England has a mission to perform as regards Africa. It is her mission to emancipate the African from his state of barbarism, and especially to put down the Slave-trade. Commerce and civilisation go hand in hand, and we say that the same steps which are necessary for the putting down of the Slave-trade will provide a means by which commerce may be rendered of benefit to that country. I may remind your Lordship that at present the commerce of this country is passing through a very severe trial. We are confronted on every side with hostile competitors, and we find the field in which to carry on our operations diminishing year by year. Therefore we say that it is absolutely necessary for the prosperity of this country that new markets, new fields, and new facilities, should be opened up for the development of our commerce, and we think that such a thing may be found in this country of Africa. We believe that the abandonment of that country would lead to anarchy and bloodshed, and that the country, after a period of anarchy and bloodshed, would pass into the possession of some other foreign power, which would establish hostile and protective tariffs with the object of



limiting trade, and so our trade would be shut out. I therefore advocate the retention of this country by England on the ground that it should be preserved to us as a field for free trade in the future.

MR. A. ALBRIGHT: My Lord, I will not trespass upon your time more than a few minutes. Reference has been made to Hull as having taken a prominent part in this struggle, and I should like to say that I regard Birmingham as no mean city in the consideration of the anti-Slavery question, because not far from my own door is the statue of JOSEPH STURGE. More than fifty years ago I was on terms of the closest intimacy with him, spending all my evenings with him, and I believe, if his spirit were hovering over this meeting, he would be very heartily with us. Especially do I believe he would be in deep sympathy with his brother, Mr. EDMUND STURGE, who is my brother-in-law, and who, I know, will be anxiously looking for the result of this meeting with your Lordship. On those grounds, and as representing Birmingham, I may say I am satisfied that should it be deemed expedient to call a meeting in Birmingham, there would be no question that in a very short time an ample requisition to the Mayor would be forthcoming. My Lord, my reminiscences in connection with anti-Slavery go back to about the year 1834, and in going back that time I can recall the fact that in one night the House of Commons voted £20,000,000 to sweep away negro Slavery, and on the second night it converted that loan into a gift. I think the men of that generation would rise up to condemn us if we do not afford a paltry £100,000 to subsidise the railway, which all parties must agree is certain, however its success may be limited, to be a fertile instrument in putting an end to the Slave-trade. Then, again, what would America say about our Imperialism if we forsake Uganda? (Hear, hear). I am reminded that a very leading statesman in Birmingham is thoroughly with us in this matter.

SIR FREDERICK YOUNG: I will say one word, my Lord, in addition to what has been said by the previous speakers. It is an axiom in commerce that a large business cannot be carried on in a small way, nor can these matters of a great country like Great Britain be carried on in a small way. I am here to express the sympathy of all our brethren beyond the seas with the cause which has brought such a numerous and influential Deputation from the home country here to-day. I thoroughly endorse, on their behalf, all that has been said to-day by previous speakers.

MR. BOSWORTH SMITH: My Lord, I have had an opportunity so recently of putting my views of what I conceive to be the supreme importance, philanthropically and morally, of the retention by this country of Uganda, in a letter to *The Times*, that I should not be justified in intruding upon you for a single moment, if it was not that I feel I omitted one point in that letter. The point on which I wish to dwell is the supreme importance in this country of a continuity in all its foreign policy. You, my Lord, know the supreme importance of that, and the supreme difficulty of securing it

as much as anybody. But notwithstanding the supreme importance of securing that continuity, during the past eighty years, there have been several breaks, and fatal breaks, in our foreign policy. There has not, however, been a single break to my knowledge in the last eighty years in the continuity of our policy as regards the traffic in human flesh. England has spent millions in emancipating her own Slaves, she has spent millions more in trying to restrain and suppress the Oceanic traffic, and now she has a chance such as has never been presented to her before, and may never be presented to her again, of dealing with a far more difficult and far more terrible internal Slave-trade in Africa. If we are induced by any motives or concatenation of motives to abandon Uganda, we shall break the continuity of the moral policy of England (hear, hear), we shall be undoing what we have already begun. There was one sentence in Captain LUGARD's modest letter (for it seems to me his modesty is quite as conspicuous as his heroism) in which, by a side wind, he mentions he had induced the Mohammedan section, that is to say, a third of the inhabitants of Uganda, to abolish the Slave-trade. Now, my Lord, Mohammedanism has done great things for Africa in many ways. It has elevated the negro enormously, it has given him fresh force, but it undoubtedly also makes him fiercer, and in the public opinion of England it is supposed that the religion of MOHAMMED is bound up with the Slave-trade. That opinion is not correct. "The worst of men," said MOHAMMED, "is the seller of men." My Lord, it is a most remarkable proof of what can be done by one man if Captain LUGARD has been able to induce the Mohammedan section, the most energetic section—I will answer for it—in Uganda, of themselves to abolish the Slave-trade. There is one Eastern anecdote which I wish I could impress upon those, alike, who venture without good reason into far distant countries, and still more upon those who, when they have ventured into far distant countries, would retire from them when they have been occupied. The great MAHMUD GHUZNEVIDE, conqueror of Central Asia, had recently conquered Persia. A caravan in one of the deserts of Persia was plundered. The mother of one of the men who had been slain made her way to Ghuzni and asked for redress. MAHMUD urged the impossibility of keeping order in so remote a portion of his dominions. "Why, then," answered the woman boldly, "do you take countries that you cannot govern, and for which you will have to answer in the Day of Judgment?" MAHMUD was struck with the justice of the reproof, and he liberally rewarded the woman. He did not retire from the country, for that would have been a wrong the more, but he took steps for the protection of the caravans and the good government of the country. If we have done wrong in going to Uganda, by all means let us retire; if we have not done wrong, if we have a vantage ground for the internal suppression of the Slave-trade, then, *vestigia nulla retrorsum*. (Applause.)

MR. BALFOUR (of Drogheda): My Lord—I believe I have been asked to speak because I have come from Ireland, otherwise I should not probably

have ventured to speak in the presence of gentlemen who know this subject much better than I do. There are, however, one or two matters which I think have been a little overlooked. There is one thing which I should like to impress, and that is, that it is not really a question as to which party was to blame for these last civil wars and strifes ; but the question is whether we are not bound, as a nation, to carry out the treaty that has already been made in the name of England with the King of that country. Moreover, I observe that the French Missionaries are asking us to remain in the country, and begging that England will not desert them. Then, again, I think it very important to bear in mind the necessity of coming to a decision as quickly as possible, considering the length of time that it takes to get news to Uganda, and the fact that the mere rumour of the evacuation of Uganda a year ago was what brought on the last civil war. Therefore I think nobody knows what may be going on even at this present moment on the rumour of another withdrawal. I think it most important that the Government should decide at once to do something to maintain British authority in the country, even to have a Consul with power to form a police force of natives, and to do something to show that that country is to regard itself as belonging to the QUEEN.

MR. FRANK SPENCE : My Lord—Seventeen years ago I took a vow that henceforth I would support the bluest Tory or the reddest Radical who would promote the most advanced Christian policy and legislation. As a non-partisan I have been enabled to exchange views in the freest way with the supporters of both political parties in Manchester, and I may say, without hesitation, that there is the strongest feeling on both sides, on commercial as well as political grounds, against the proposal to extinguish this lamp of civilisation, and hand over the noblest race and the finest region of the African tropics to anarchy and Slave raiding, and ultimately to our German rivals. As senior partner in large works in Manchester, Birmingham, and Goole, dependent to a great extent upon the export trade, I am myself personally convinced that not a square mile of the little remaining territory which can be peacefully delivered from the Slave-trade, and from the heavy protective duties of our competitors, should be left uncovered by the British flag. If as a nation we can annually afford to spend £140,000,000 on intoxicating drink, and £21,000,000 on tobacco, is it not preposterous to hesitate about expending the £100,000 a year necessary for a short time to open out to our manufacturers the best and most promising market in mid-Africa ? But, my Lord, there remains a much graver consideration than any to which I have yet referred. All authorities on the *status quo* in Uganda assure us that our withdrawal from the scene will certainly lead to dreadful destruction of human life. The best Book in the world tells us that "He who knoweth to do good and doeth it not to him it is sin." I submit, with the utmost respect, that if your Lordship should, by deciding not to occupy the territory, bring to an end the law and order which the British East Africa Company have established,



GOD will require of this nation an account of every life that will be lost in the civil war which will set in immediately they have evacuated the Lake regions.

LORD ROSEBERY : Mr. PEASE and Gentlemen,—My remarks will be much briefer than those to which I have just listened, for the last speaker seems to have fallen into some mistake in thinking that I am a sort of dictator who has the settlement of this question at my own disposition. I beg you to remember that I am only a member of a Government, and that I have only received this Deputation to-day because the subject to which it relates falls mainly in my Department. But it is not one which it is mine entirely to solve. It has become, by the very magnitude which more than one speaker has pointed out, not a Departmental, but an Imperial, question of policy (hear, hear); and you will understand, as well as I do, that, though you represent a very important aspect of the question, the Government, in framing its policy, has to consider every aspect of the question, not merely its responsibilities in respect to the Slave-trade, but its responsibilities in respect to the future, its responsibilities with regard to the taxpayers of this country. Well, we are not unaware of our responsibilities under the Brussels Conference. We are not unaware of the large sums of money spent by Germany and other nations to develop their spheres of influence in Africa; but, Gentlemen, the question is not wholly that, and men who do not wish to draw back where once their hand is placed may well hesitate for a moment before definitely placing their hand on what seems so large a position. The extent of the question was pointed out by Mr. WALLER in his speech, perhaps more extensively than I could do it by any words of mine. He recommended a railroad that would cost two and a half millions; but he himself said that it would not be a great anti-Slavery agency, and he pointed out that, whereas we had acquired the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba in exchange for an important British possession, in the hope of civilising those countries, Slavery flourished largely there. And he further pointed this out, that, whereas, with the view of developing British influence in our sphere, we had handed over, to a very large extent, our responsibilities to a chartered company, yet that Slavery flourished in the very employment of that chartered company. Now, these are not my representations; they are the representations of a member of the Deputation, and I only allude to them to point out to you how very large is the question to which you have invited my attention. Now, Gentlemen, I will not touch upon the speeches of my friends, Sir ALBERT ROLLIT and Mr. MACARTHUR, because they introduce a commercial element which, though extremely important in the view of the

Government, is not the view that the Deputation have come here to put forward to-day. But I do not myself think, and I venture to ask you to believe, that neither the Government nor the country are indifferent to this question of Uganda. I do not approach it—the Government does not approach it—as a matter of small moment, as a remote district, which has been momentarily occupied by a company, soon to be evacuated by the company, and as a thing which in no degree affects the Imperial Government. We—at any rate I—view it as a country of great possibilities, as the key, perhaps, of Central Africa, as commanding the Nile basin, as a field recently of heroic enterprise, as a land that has been watered by the blood of our saints and martyrs (hear, hear); and I for one, as a Scotchman, can never be indifferent to a land which witnessed the heroic exploits of ALEXANDER MACKAY, that Christian Bayard whose reputation will always be dear, not only in his own immediate northern country, but throughout the empire at large. Gentlemen,—I say that, whereas we view Uganda from all these different aspects, in my opinion you represent the greatest force of all, because you represent what Mr. BOSWORTH SMITH eloquently called that continuity of moral policy which Great Britain cannot afford at any time or under any dispensation to disregard. That continuity of moral policy is a moral force by which, in my opinion, this country has to be judged. It is the salt which savours our history; it is the spirit which has exalted it, and it is by that when we have passed away that, in my belief, we shall come to be judged. It is not by her exploits in the field that Greece remains to us; it is by the spiritual form of her literature. It is not by her campaigns that Rome is best remembered, but by her laws, and immediately, and in a lesser degree, by the roads and aqueducts which are the signs of her civilisation. And in the same way I believe that this country, when it comes to stand before history, will stand, when all else has passed away, not by her fleets, or her armies, or her commerce, because other nations have fleets and armies and commerce, but by her heroic and self-denying exertions which she has put forward to put down this iniquitous traffic. (Cheers.) I know that when we speak of extending civilisation, or extending commerce, other nations look on us askance. They believe us to be occupied by selfish and grasping and greedy motives; but there is one point on which they cannot deny that we have been actuated by a higher and purer spirit, and that is in the cause which you advocate. My belief is that, having put our hands to the plough in that great enterprise, we shall not be able, even if we were willing, to look back. I do not say this as pledging the Government to pursue any

course of policy with regard to Uganda, because I am not here, and this is not the place, to declare that policy; but I will say this—that in the multiplicity of the considerations which we must weigh and balance before coming to a final resolution on this subject, the great cause which you have come to advocate to-day must occupy a commanding place. (Applause.)

MR. ARTHUR PEASE :—My Lord, I must thank you very much for your kindness and the courtesy which you have shown to the Deputation, and we are very much obliged for the attention which you have given to the matter.

The following letter from the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, owing to a misunderstanding, was not read, but His Grace has subsequently stated that he had full sympathy with the objects of the Deputation :—

ADDINGTON PARK, CROYDON, Oct. 18, 1892.

DEAR SIR,—It is impossible for me, receiving your letter to-day, to arrange to meet your Deputation on the 20th, as you suggest.

I hope, for many reasons, that the British Government will be able to adopt a policy which will prevent the disasters which, it is naturally feared, would follow the withdrawal from Central Africa.

You are quite free to express that, in common with others, I feel intense interest in the subject. But I am not able to advise on the particular steps which should be taken, and must leave that to the statesmen of our Foreign Office, in whom we have every reason to place confidence.

If you use this letter you will kindly use it all.

Your faithful servant,

EDW. CANTUAR.

CHAS. H. ALLEN, Esq., F.R.G.S.

The following Papers were handed in to LORD ROSEBURY by Mr. C. H. ALLEN :—

Letter from Dr. FELKIN.

Minute of the Anti-Slavery Society.

Slave-trade in Uganda.

Sir RICHARD TEMPLE's Paper on Mombasa Railway (*Fortnightly*).

### Dr. Felkin on the Uganda Question.

EDINBURGH, Oct. 18, 1892.

MY DEAR SIR,—As I wrote you yesterday and telegraphed you to-day, an important professional engagement will prevent me being present on the Deputation to LORD ROSEBURY on Thursday afternoon. This I extremely regret, as, after my residence in Uganda and my knowledge of the people and of the African Slave-trade, I have the right to form a strong opinion as to the results likely to follow the evacuation of that country.

It is certain that one who has definite local knowledge is better able to judge of such a case than those who have only information second-hand. If you think that what follows will have any weight with his Lordship, I shall be glad if you will utilise it as you may think fit.



I do not feel called upon to offer any opinion as to the advisability, or otherwise, of the action which has been taken with regard to Uganda up to the present time. We have to face the fact that civil war has taken place, that the British have introduced a certain amount of order into the country, and have pledged the British power to uphold peace.

It is now proposed, or it appears to be proposed, to go back from these promises, to evacuate the country, and to leave the various factions to fight for the supremacy. In order to estimate the result of this action, it is necessary, very briefly, to refer to the condition of the country ten or twelve years ago. At that time King M'TESA reigned over a country which was admirably organised. A certain amount of cruelty existed, but not much. The Slave-trade was carried on extensively, the Waganda raiding over the neighbouring tribes. After M'TESA's death, the strong system of feudal government became loosened, and anarchy has resulted. The Waganda are an intelligent and warlike people, and, given a just rule, they must of necessity form a centre of civilisation in Central Africa; and the same may be said of Unyoro. If a strong government were introduced into these countries there can be no doubt that the Slave-trade must of necessity cease, and one of the great Slave-dealing centres in Central Africa become a thing of the past. The surrounding tribes have no cohesion, and amongst them the Slave-trade is hardly, if at all, carried on. These people are enslaved in three directions—firstly, by the Waganda and Wanyoro; secondly, by the Slave-traders from the Soudan; and thirdly, by the Arab Slave-dealers from TIPPOO TIB's headquarters. This being the case, it is waste of time to say more than that if Uganda and Unyoro were in British hands the key to the suppression of the Slave-trade at its sources would be possessed, and that it would be a comparatively easy matter to stop the traffic in human flesh and blood over that immense district.

You know very well that my opinion always has been that the blocking of the Slave routes, and the blockade on the East Coast of Africa, only add to the sufferings and mortality from which the Slaves suffer between capture and ultimate sale. I firmly believe we shall never put an end to the Slave-trade unless we stop the demand or make the production of the supply impossible, and at the present moment it is in our power to stop the supply to a very large extent. It seems to me that not to seize this opportunity, one which would cost comparatively little, and which from the standpoint of Christianity and commerce, would be of such great advantage, would be most lamentable.

In conclusion, I must refer to the probable condition of Uganda should the British withdraw. It will result in a triangular fight for supremacy between the three parties in the State, which have been unfortunately formed, and in a warlike country like Uganda this will entail a bitter strife and enormous bloodshed. At the same time it would necessarily stimulate the Slave-trade, because whoever becomes the victor will enslave and sell the vanquished. It has been said that, should we relinquish our hold upon Uganda now we can regain it at any time. So we can, but only at the cost of broken promises, dishonour, and at a great expenditure of life and money. Are we justified in entailing upon these people, who have trusted our promises, any additional suffering? They have already had to pay a heavy price for the introduction of the germs of civilisation and Christianity into their land, and it seems to me that it would be a crime, I cannot use a word less strong, to lose the hold we have gained and the possibility of doing such inestimable service in the cause of philanthropy and civilisation which we boast so much.

If it be said that the Waganda, being a warlike people, such as I have indicated,

would be difficult and costly to rule, I would reply that this would not be the case, because they have been used to a firm rule, accustomed to obey as well as to fight, and those qualities which, unrestrained, will create havoc and bloody anarchy, are the very ones which would ensure the people being good and loyal subjects if ruled with a wise and firm hand.

The above gives in brief the main points of the arguments I would press upon LORD ROSEBURY. Could I but fill in the details the reasons against evacuation would appear still more weighty.

Faithfully yours,

ROBERT W. FELKIN, M.D.

To CHAS. H. ALLEN, Esq.

### The Mombasa Railway.

*Copy of a Minute of the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, adopted unanimously at their Meeting on June 3rd, 1892.*

A YEAR has now passed since the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, on receiving the freedom of the City of Glasgow, availed himself of the occasion for an announcement of an emphatic approval of the scheme for this railway, and also his belief in the very important and beneficent results which would follow its construction. He concluded with these words :—

“The Brussels Conference on the Slave-trade will, I believe, be a very great social and philanthropic event in the history of Europe. Resolutions have been come to by the Powers concerned, binding them to certain measures for arresting the progress of Slaves across any European territory of which they are in possession, and therefore under that Conference we are bound to do our utmost to prevent the passage of Slaves across the territory that we have undertaken. We now spend large sums on ships and boats to arrest this accursed traffic, with considerable success, but also at great cost, not only to the Treasury at home, but also to the lives and health of the sailors, who under that sun have to give themselves to that tremendous labour. (Cheers.) If we are able, instead of taking this expensive and difficult precaution—if we are able to pursue the evil to its home and kill it at its root, we shall not only have saved mankind from a fearful curse, but we shall have spared the treasury of our own people and the lives of the gallant sailors who gave themselves to this work.”

Such views are in entire accord with those which have been long held by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and it is a policy which they are prepared to commend to the country for its support, and to that of any Government which may possibly succeed the present. An eminent Indian

Administrator has lately given the subject his special examination, and considers that an Imperial Guarantee, not exceeding £70,000 per annum would, to a large extent, render needless a service so costly in lives and treasure as has been described. The working classes of England have, perhaps, the strongest interest in the adoption of such a policy by the British Government, inasmuch as it opens up new markets for English manufactures of unlimited extent, and with this special feature, that they will be in no danger of being met by those hostile protective duties which now confront them in most of the Colonies.

*Resolved therefore :—*

“ That in view of the Declaration of the Powers contained in Section 3 of Article I. of the General Act of the Brussels Conference, respecting the construction of roads and railways between the coast and the inland waters of Africa, the construction of a line of railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria claims the earnest support of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

“ That as it would be impossible to carry out this undertaking without a guarantee by the British Government for a specified period of the interest upon the Capital required, this Society is prepared to support such policy upon the part of the Government, provided that in the construction and working of such line no means be employed which would be opposed to the fundamental principles of the Society.

“ That in any popular lectures undertaken by the Society the subject of the Mombasa Railway and similar undertakings should hold a prominent position, and be advocated upon Anti-Slavery grounds.”

### **The Slave-Trade in Uganda, &c., from Eye-Witnesses.**

MR. ALEXANDER MACKAY.

“ I HAD spoken before of the unchristian nature of Slavery, and also on the intrinsic value of the human body compared with a rag of cloth. The King himself restated my former arguments. To-day I adopted another line. I said the country was being depopulated by the exportation of children and women. This was allowed on all hands. The King said he was quite at a loss what to do. He himself did not buy or sell Slaves, but his chiefs and others did. I said he was not King of his household merely, but of the whole country, and told him he could receive no terms of friendship from England unless he put down the evil. The Arabs (half-caste) were up in arms. MTESA allowed me to fight it out with them for a while, and then allowed that I was right, but what could he and his people do? The coast-men would not sell



cloth, or guns, etc., except for Slaves. I told him that the country was rich in many things, and if the coast-men would not trade in anything except human beings, then let them stay away. I said other articles of barter would soon suggest themselves. I could not produce them, nor would the Baganda even, so long as every man went about idle as at present. He said if he had only half a dozen white men here to put his people in the way of producing articles for trade, he would soon put an end to Slavery."—*Mackay's Journal*, Jan. 9th, 1879.

"THE startling fact is announced by MACKAY, that every year some two thousand Slaves are purchased by Arab traders, in Uganda alone, for transmission to the coast ; and in several of his letters he refers to large bodies of armed men sent out under the orders of the King to raid for Slaves. KABA-REGA, King of Bunyoro, a neighbouring State, did the same thing, and probably on a scale of equal magnitude ; so that these two neighbouring States alone yielded not less than four thousand Slaves for sale to traders, besides reserving large numbers for home use."

"IN 1871 LIVINGSTONE wrote :—' The evils inflicted by these Arabs are enormous, but probably not greater than the people inflict on each other.' This is especially true as regards Uganda and Bunyoro. These countries have generally large armies in the field, in one direction or another, devastating whole regions of their inhabitants. The Arabs, as a rule, do not join these expeditions, organised for wholesale murder, but they supply the guns and the powder, and receive in payment women, children, and ivory procured in the raids. The demand for Slaves in Uganda itself is very great, it being only the surplus which is carried off by the Arabs. Every year some two thousand Slaves, as nearly as I can estimate, are purchased by Arabs, and conveyed by water from Uganda to Usukuma, where the march to the coast begins. It will be no light undertaking to stop this trade on the water ; but granting that it can be done, what means are to be employed to prevent the tenfold greater loss of life and liberty in the countries raided on by the Baganda ? "

"As long as the Arab remains in Africa he will trade in Slaves, and, in spite of his doing so, he will be regarded by the natives as a friend, simply because he trades in other things as well, and there is a demand for these. To rid Africa of his presence we have only to take the trade out of his hands. If Europeans succeed in supplying the natives with calico and other goods of lawful barter, they will entirely supplant the Arabs, who will retire in vast numbers to their own country. But to do this, the barbarous and inhuman method of employing porters to carry loads must be abandoned. No European merchant can employ labour of that kind, and hope, at a profit, to undersell the Arab merchant. If he transports his goods by animal power, on the

backs of elephants or buffaloes, or preferably in wagons hauled by these, he will, without question, succeed in securing all the ivory trade, because he will then be able to give more cloth for a tusk. But be it remembered that millions of natives in Central Africa demand cloth, but have no ivory wherewith to buy. The Arab accepts a Slave from a poor man for the little cloth he wants; but what can the European accept in exchange? Produce will not pay the expense of freight to the coast, even by wagons drawn by elephants."

"I HAVE quoted the opinion of LIVINGSTONE on the question of supplying Slavers with ammunition. Let me conclude with the words of another authority on Central Africa. In one of the last letters I have from Dr. EMIN PASHA, dated Wadelai, August 25th, 1887, he writes: 'The *conditio sine qua non* for the peace and prosperity of these countries is, to stop the importation of firearms, ammunition, and powder. The English and German Governments should agree on this step, and punish with relentless severity offenders against their proscription. MWANGA and KABAREGA would very quickly come to terms on seeing their powder stores empty.'"

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#### REV. R. P. ASHE.

"THE armies which the King sends out from time to time to ravage the neighbouring countries are commanded by the principal chiefs in rotation. These armies carry fire and sword, blood and iron, far and wide. Vast herds of women and cattle are swept in, as well as thousands of children, to be from henceforth chattels—chattels, perhaps, of children and Slaves—possibly of Slaves. So miserable is their fate, so wretched, so dulling to the senses, so destructive to all feeling, that one can scarcely be surprised that in a few years the unhappy creatures have given way beneath the weight of their misery, and have even actually lost all desire for freedom. After a raid of this kind, the Arab, ubiquitous, heartless, bloody, finds his opportunity for buying the children and women, and is ready to purchase, with his borrowed barter goods, the Slaves, who in other countries he is able to procure more simply with his sword.

"Scenes of awful horror are perpetrated on these expeditions, which are unenlightened by a single ray of human kindness. Lust is lord, and wrong is right, while love is lost in the wild struggle for wealth. Illustrations might be multiplied indefinitely, but it is enough to say that it not unfrequently happens, as natives who have taken part in these raids have told me, that when some wearied woman carrying her babe is unable to keep up the rapid pace of the hurrying warriors, the child, too young and useless to be worth its carriage, is flung far into the forest, to perish with hunger or to fall a prey to some prowling hyena; while the agonised mother, when she would at all costs seek her child, is kept back and driven on by the spears of the brutal warriors.

"Lastly, the Slaves are drawn, I suppose, originally, from the conquered people of the country of Budu, South-West of Buganda.

"How shall I speak of them?—and Slavery, what can be said of it? The deepest degradation that strength can inflict on weakness, the utmost depth of shame to which an unhappy human soul can be dragged.

"Who will not sympathise with those savage Bakede, to whom I have already referred, whose women's hearts rejected with loathing the life which lay before them, who chose death cheerfully to being the concubines of those whom they scorned and hated?"

"The Slaves have no rights. What have they to do with riches and honour or home or hope? Their bodies are not their own, and the jewel of chastity, did they ever so much desire it, lies for ever out of their reach.

"Shall we say it is well that their feelings should become so blunted that they dumbly acquiesce in their shame? Dare we say that because they often seem light-hearted they do not therefore feel their own degradation?"

"The Slaves in Buganda are drawn from the surrounding countries, chiefly Bunyoro and Busoga, a few from Busagara, Thangiro, Buzongora, and Buzinja. They fetch from ten thousand to twenty thousand cowrie shells, equivalent to between three and six pounds in English money, according to description. A beautiful Muhuma woman will fetch far more."

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DR. HANS MEYER.

"MANDARA has for long been visited by Swahili caravans because he had always a supply of Slaves at his disposal. As we saw later on, he has turned the whole of north-western Ugweno into a howling wilderness through his wars and Slave raids, and in all the Jagga outbreaks he was always the firebrand."

° ° ° "We had not proceeded far (between Moji and Kirúa) when we were met by a long procession of female Slaves belonging to the chief of Kirúa, on their way to market in Moji with a quantity of beans."

° ° ° "In Jagga, which includes the whole of the inhabited and cultivated zone on the southern and eastern flanks of Kilimanjaro, there are over twenty such States, and the chiefs in one district are constantly leaguering themselves together to make war upon those of another. By war, of course, is not to be understood pitched battles and organised fighting. As a general rule, the aim of the assailants is to make a surprise raid upon the enemy's territory, and take away the inhabitants as Slaves."

Ugweno.—"This lovely mountainous district, lying to the south of Kilimanjaro, had never before been visited by any European, with the exception of Dr. KERSTEN, who travelled along its eastern margin, and made the interesting discovery of the iron furnaces of Usangi. The latter state is also occasionally visited by Arab and Swahili caravans trading in cattle and Slaves; but, as a whole, the district may be said to be totally unexplored."

° ° ° "The distrust of strangers so general among the tribes of Western Ugweno, is not without justification. Their experience of outsiders consists of one long series of raids on the part of the MASAI and of MANDARA, both of whom have for years been accustomed to look upon Ugweno as a happy hunting ground for the capture of cattle and Slaves."

° ° ° "No Jagga court seems to be complete without two or three of these rascals who hang about in the expectation of picking up Slaves, a commodity of which a supply is constantly forthcoming as the result of the frequent feuds and forays between the different petty states."

° ° ° "Soon our men were exchanging greetings with their friends in the new caravan, which proved to be bound for Taveta *en route* for Masai land. The



party consisted of about fifty half-breed Arabs and a large number of Swahili porters, with donkeys and draught oxen, all heavily laden. It also included some twenty or twenty-five Slaves, who presented a woeful spectacle as they toiled painfully along, loaded with chains and carrying heavy burdens of iron wire, the main article of barter in the Masai country. In crossing the steppes the poor wretches had attempted to escape, and had been put in irons as the heaviest punishment their masters could think of under the circumstances."

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Mr. Vice-Consul SMITH writes, on May 4th, 1885, from Mombasa as follows :—

"I have the honour to inform you that on two occasions lately, that is to say, on the 16th April, and on an earlier date, caravans belonging to the Church Missionary Society came across batches of Slaves on the road, whose masters ran and left them on the hands of the Mission caravans.

"In the first case a party of men were carrying food up country for the Bishop, and met a large caravan, the greater part of which had passed without incident, when a man belonging to it asked whether they belonged to the Bishop. On being answered he ran to the rear, and Slaves were driven off into the bush, with the exception of six small children, who were left on the hands of the Mission caravan.

"The other case is said to have happened in much the same way, except that there seems to have been some conversation between the Mission porters and the Slave dealers, who, for a reason unexplained, then ran away, leaving behind them seventeen Slaves and two tusks of ivory."

EMIN PASHA, writing from Wadelai, August 16th, 1887, says :—

"The KING OF UGANDA is again at war with KABREGA, who would not listen to my warnings, misled as he was by an Arab trader.

"The whole western part of Unyoro has been laid waste. KABREGA had to escape, and is now somewhere near Kisuga, on the road to Mrooli. The Waganda established themselves in Mayangesi, and seem unwilling to quit the district again. All communications are closed. I do, therefore, not know when I may be able to forward this letter, but I trust it will reach you safely some day or another. Do not forget your promise to write to me sometimes, and believe me to be,

"Yours very faithfully,

"DR. EMIN PASHA."

*To the Secretary of the* BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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Mr. Consul JOHNSTON, writing in September, 1888, states :—

"Whether the Slave-traders obtain their Slaves by raiding, by promoting civil strife, or, vicariously, by purchase from native chiefs, whom they have taught and tempted to do the raiding for them, the true horrors of the Slave-trade commence with the journey towards the coast or the trading-depôt. During the first few days of the march the loss of life among the Slaves is almost fifty per cent. The weakly who fall down by the way-side, and are insensible to blows and exhortations to rise, are either shot or stabbed then and there, or are left to die of starvation and thirst, and the repeated bites of hyenas. The progress of the caravan, indeed, is attended (as I have myself seen) with a skulking following of hyenas and jackals, and a bolder troop of vultures and Marabou storks."

"Following in the track of Swahili Slave-traders in East Africa (to the south of Kilimanjaro), I have on several occasions come across the half-eaten bodies of dead Slaves, with the Slave-sticks still attached to their necks ; and three Slaves I picked up and restored to health whom I found at the last stage of exhaustion and still bleeding from hyena bites. \* \* \*

"At the first convenient halting-place that offers on their route—such a place as Taveita or Tabora \* \* \* the Slave-traders stop, and rest, and re-arrange their caravan. Here they weed out the weakly and diseased who are not likely to repay them for further transport, and these infirm—to check any temptation on the part of others to 'malingering'—are killed and thrown into the bush, where you, who may be following the Slavers, are led to discover their remains by the horrible effluvia they cause, and the maddening howls and squabbles they give rise to at night among the hyenas and jackals. Here, also, they proceed to mutilate a large number of the boys, in such a brutal and unskillful manner that not a few die in lingering agony from the effects of the operation. I have seen those who have thus perished and have been left behind dying, or put out of their misery by a departing Slaver."

MONSIGNOR LIVINHAC, writing from Uganda, in March, 1888, says :—

"We have often spoken of the Arab Slave-traders who reside, during a portion of the year, at the Court of Uganda, in order to purchase the Slaves which the KABAHA hunts and captures, either in his own, or in the neighbouring kingdoms. He is, for Africa, a powerful prince, for he has several millions of subjects, and he often equips, for his raids, armies of some thousands of men. At intervals, unfortunately too closely following each other, we see these armies return victorious, driving before them gangs of Slaves, often composed of three to four thousand Slaves each. The king has his pick ; keeps those that please him, or distributes them among his chiefs, and sells all the rest to Moslem Slave-traders, who take them away to be re-sold, either on the sea coast, to the purveyors of Arabia, or in the markets of Upper Egypt. It is a frightful, but very important, traffic, which enriches the Slave-traders, and which procures for M'WANGA arms and gunpowder, which is all he requires to extend his territory, consolidate his power, and increase the number of his Slaves and victims.

"For a long time past, and under M'WANGA's predecessor, these Moslem Slave-traders had already tried to establish themselves still more firmly in Buganda, by urging the KABAHA to embrace Mohammedanism. We have witnessed their efforts, but, if we have not succeeded in converting the prince of Christianity, on account of his fifteen hundred wives, and the impossibility in which he finds himself of practising monogamy, we have at least been able to prevent his turning Moslem. The Slave-traders here are therefore somewhat, as it were, 'on the wing' (unsettled) in the midst of a people they cruelly take advantage of, by their sanguinary expeditions, but which fears and detests them. They never cease to excite M'WANGA's suspicions against European undertakings, and also against the missionaries, and in this they only succeed too well, through their misrepresentations.

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"Although, as I have just stated, the designs of Europe render our position a difficult one, it is not from that quarter that the great evil comes. It comes from the Arab Slave-traders. At this moment, accompanied by all the riff-raff Moslems of the coast, they are repairing in considerable numbers towards the Nyanza, and especially towards Buganda. Have they any secret designs of conquest ? It is quite admissible

to believe they have. What is certain is, that they are doing their utmost to render the whites odious everywhere, and to have them sent away. The first thing that should be done by the nations who wish to colonise these countries is to banish the Arab and the Mungwana element. To succeed in doing so, it will be necessary to make their traffic on the coast impossible, and to prohibit them, under severe penalty, from importing any guns or powder. This measure should have been taken long ago. A prodigious number of firearms is already in the hands of the negroes. In Buganda alone there are many thousands of all kinds, and this explains M'WANGA's haughtiness. Yet a few more years of this imprudent traffic and the whites will not be able to travel any more in the interior of Africa without being escorted by a numerous and well disciplined army. It is in this traffic also that is to be found the source of the daily increasing evils of Slavery. All these guns serve to arm the ruffians who accompany the Slave-traders, and the evils which these men-stealers perpetrate in the interior of Africa, far beyond the lake Albert Nyanza, are incalculable. How blind or indifferent Europe is !"

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EXTRACT FROM CAPTAIN LUGARD'S LETTERS, 1890.

"ALMOST immediately after crossing the Tsavo we ran into a Slave caravan. I had, as is my custom, been superintending the issue of loads, and departure of the caravan from camp, and was just overtaking the head of the Safari, when I met two or three suspicious-looking men with guns, and saw others skulking in the forest. I did not at once perceive the situation, but noticed the embarrassment of the men, the presence of several very young children (infants) which they were carrying, and that the caravan, instead of passing us in the broad path, was disappearing man by man as they came up into the jungle. I demanded the reason for these things, and accused them of being a Slave caravan, which they strongly denied. I took away their guns, and made them prisoners till I should prove the truth of their words, and sent Mr. WILSON on ahead to ascertain what he could, and capture any if he found they were a Slave caravan. Mr. DE WINTON searched the bush, and I returned to the rear of the Safari to send word back to Shukri and the search party (who had returned to our previous camp to look for the missing Soudanese) to be on the look out and capture all they could. We found it was undoubtedly a Slave caravan. The headman in front says he saw fifteen girls in Slave sticks, and we captured and liberated one man in a Slave stick, and also found one woman Slave, and three young children, two being emaciated with starvation. These I took on with me, together with a number of prisoners we captured. The common porters I released (taking away their arms), and retained two men of superior rank and a boy as evidence. These men I sent down to the coast under Mr. AUBURN's charge, as prisoners from the Kibwezi, together with full details, and evidence gathered from them and from the other prisoners whom I had released, as to the names of the owners, and leaders of the caravan, &c. (all of whom were Mombasa men). This evidence I sincerely hope will lead to the conviction and severe punishment of the Arabs implicated, since I spared no effort to make the evidence as complete and conclusive as possible."

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Captain LUGARD, writing from Uganda, December, 1890, states :—

"The States tributary to Uganda, since the time of KAMANGA, SUSIA, MTESA, and MWANGA, are : Bunyoro, which paid salt, ivory, and spades ; Busoga, ivory ; Kiziba, shells and Slaves ; Biozoiga, cloth, guns, and wire ; Karagwe, beads, cattle, and Slaves."



## What the Press Says.

(*"THE TIMES," October 21*).

LORD ROSEBERY's reply to the Deputation from the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, which waited upon him yesterday to protest against the abandonment of Uganda, was as favourable as could reasonably be looked for in the circumstances. As he pointed out, the decision does not rest with him alone, but with the Cabinet of which he is a member, and its policy, when determined on, ought to be announced to Parliament. It is not, however, difficult to gather from the general drift of his observations that he is personally in sympathy with the aims of the Deputation, and anxious to see our occupation of Uganda continued and rendered effective in one way or another. Indeed, he goes so far as to express his belief that, "having put our hands to the plough in that great enterprise, we shall not be able, even if we were willing, to look back." The enterprise to which he refers is the extinction of the Slave-trade throughout the great region included in our sphere of influence, or, as the Germans call it, our sphere of interest, or, as we must regard it, in the light of our history and traditions and implied engagements, our sphere of moral responsibility. "That continuity of moral policy which Great Britain cannot afford at any time or in any dispensation to disregard" is described by LORD ROSEBERY in a striking passage as constituting, more truly than our fleets or our armies or our commercial triumphs, our claim to greatness in the impartial eyes of the ages yet to be. He assured the Deputation that, while the Government is bound to have regard to many different and conflicting considerations, a commanding place must be given to the great cause which it is the business of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to advocate. There is a cheap cynicism which tries to sneer away the value and sincerity of our efforts in the cause of humanity, because it is sometimes necessary to use violence for the establishment of our position in savage countries, and also because we promote trade and commerce as well as the emancipation of down-trodden races. Nothing has ever been done either for humanity or for commerce by the superfine persons who adopt this line of criticism. LORD ROSEBERY's intellect is of too masculine and practical a type to miss the truth that the cruelties which fill the dark places of the earth are not to be put down by the recital of copy-book headings. Philanthropy can do nothing beyond applying a superficial veneer to barbarism until it is accompanied by commerce and civilised administration, which must depend in Uganda upon the same ultimate sanction as in London.

Thus the Deputation of yesterday, though primarily concerned with the enforcement of the philanthropic reasons for maintaining our position in Uganda, was not weakened but strengthened by the presence of the Chairmen of the Chambers of Commerce of London and Liverpool. The Slave-trade cannot be put down by cruisers off the coast and preachers inland. It will disappear only when we succeed in modifying the general conditions of existence in which it has its roots. This can be done only by means of an effective occupation of the country, which involves more than a merely official and military organisation. It demands the presence of a certain number of European residents to form the nucleus of civil organisation and to teach the arts of civil life. But such a population, the indispensable instrument of genuine amelioration of the general conditions of life, must have the means of support, and these can be found only in the establishment of that apparatus of production and exchange which we call commerce. That is the sufficient justification for the presence of the representatives of commerce along with the advocates of emancipation. It was

at least singularly unfortunate that the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY should on such an occasion include among its spokesmen a gentleman who thought it necessary to deny that a railway would have any effect upon the Slave-trade, and to charge the British East Africa Company with perpetuating that trade. He is entitled to his own opinion about the railway, though one may wonder how it can "have a civilising effect upon every mile of country through which it passes," and yet have no effect upon Slavery. He is also entitled if he pleases to confound that technical Slavery, which is the only form of service for the present at the Company's disposal, with the trade in flesh and blood which the Company has spent a large amount of money to put down. But while holding these curiously perverse views, he is an extremely odd person for the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to select for the task of impressing upon LORD ROSEBERY the importance of assisting or undertaking the work which the British East Africa Company is doing in Uganda.

Notwithstanding LORD ROSEBERY's eloquent recognition, on behalf of the Government, of the claims of Central Africa as a great commercial position, and a field of heroic enterprise watered by the blood of our saints and martyrs, the final decision of the Cabinet will no doubt depend very largely upon the estimate it is led to form of the strength of the public desire for effective action. Public opinion in this country ebbs and flows in a very curious way, and it might perhaps be held to be the chief function of statesmen to give it steadiness by following the central stream of national sentiment in disregard of transitory gusts of enthusiasm or despondency. But our modern politicians read their duty differently in too many cases, and have to be assured that the opinion of the moment is in favour of what they are asked to do. We do not find anywhere the least indication of a serious desire to abandon Uganda definitely and finally; but there is a reluctance in some quarters to take the measures necessary for its effective retention, and a disposition to wait upon events. It would be well, therefore, for those who are really in earnest in the matter to rouse public opinion by all the means at their disposal to a more energetic survey of the case. It will be found that the present is the best opportunity we shall ever have for securing the continuity of our policy, and that to shirk any of our difficulties is only to insure their reappearance in an aggravated form. MR. SILVA WHITE writes us another long letter to-day to enforce his contention that our sphere of influence cannot be interfered with, however we may neglect it. MR. SCOTT KELTIE, who speaks with greater authority than his own, has clearly pointed out his mistake, which consists in assuming that France is bound by whatever she has not protested against. She is nothing of the kind. She protested where she had a *locus standi*; as for the rest she has given no assent, and can at any time say that the Anglo-German agreement has never received her recognition. Her interference in Uganda, if she saw fit to interfere, would not need the base of operations and the means of governing the country contemplated by MR. WHITE. It might be effected by making treaties with the chiefs, conferring shadowy rights which we should have to buy out with substantial concessions, or else override with the certainty of creating a grievance of which we should never hear the last. Zanzibar is a case in point, since to get rid of French rights existing only on paper, we had to give the valuable consideration of recognising her claims in Madagascar.

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("THE DAILY NEWS," October 21).

THE Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is not, as he justly says, a dictator. The head of his own Department, he is subject to the criticism and control not only of the

Prime Minister in particular, but also of the Cabinet in general. LORD ROSEBERRY's brief speech to the very important and influential Deputation which waited upon him at the Foreign Office, yesterday, must be read throughout, if it is to be understood at all, in the light of this constitutional fact. Nevertheless, LORD ROSEBERRY is so eminent a man, and occupies so great a position, that every word he says on such a blazing topic as the British sphere of influence in East Africa will command attention in every part of the world. LORD ROSEBERRY naturally addressed the Deputation in sympathetic and respectful language. The BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY is a body of which this country has good reason to be proud. It disclaims the ties of party, and represents only the cause of philanthropy. For that very reason, however, its demands and suggestions must be carefully scrutinised by practical statesmen, who have no right to spend the money, and to risk the lives of their fellow citizens, in hazardous and doubtful undertakings. Nothing is less difficult, nothing has a more plausible air of disinterested patriotism, than for the comfortable classes at home to clamour for costly expeditions abroad. These professors of cheap heroism, among whom we do not reckon the members of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, know that they will never be called upon to make any personal sacrifice for the objects they profess to have at heart, and that the additional taxation required will not appreciably affect themselves. They speak and write, as the French say, at their ease. They are reckless and irresponsible, both in the tone and in the substance of their remarks. With them are allied many cynical and malignant partisans, who would gladly see Great Britain impoverished and embarrassed, if only they could damage a Liberal Government, and gain a few votes at by-elections. The gentlemen whom LORD ROSEBERRY received yesterday belong to a very different type. They have persuaded themselves, and they endeavoured to persuade the Foreign Secretary, that the Slave-trade cannot be put down from the sea, that a railroad from Mombasa to Lake Victoria-Nyanza would strike a blow at the traffic, and that the occupation of Uganda, in the name of the QUEEN, would still further cripple, if it did not altogether destroy, that nefarious business. These are arguments which must be met and answered. The sincerity of the common Jingos may be submitted to a very simple, but a perfectly crucial, test. Let them put their hands in their pockets and finance the British East Africa Company themselves.

The Deputation cannot complain of any hostile prejudice on LORD ROSEBERRY's part. On the contrary, he showed an anxious desire to meet them half way if he could. But he could not help being struck by some inconsistencies in the pleas addressed to him. Take, for instance, the speech of Mr. HORACE WALLER. Mr. WALLER, the friend and fellow-traveller of LIVINGSTONE, knows Africa as well as any man alive. He is not a professional politician with an axe to grind, but a country clergyman, moved entirely by moral and religious considerations. "The extent of the question," said LORD ROSEBERRY, "was pointed out by Mr. WALLER in his speech, perhaps more impressively than I could do it by any words of mine. He recommended a railroad which would cost two millions and a-half. But he himself said that it would not be a great Anti-Slavery agency, and he pointed out that whereas we had acquired the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, in exchange for an important British possession, in the hope of civilizing those countries, yet Slavery flourishes largely there. He further pointed out this—that if with the view of developing British influence in our sphere, we had handed over to a large extent our responsibility to a Chartered Company, yet Slavery flourished in the employment of that Chartered Company." These are most serious admissions, which come from an unimpeachable



source, and which cannot be lightly set aside. Even such a vehement advocate of annexation as Sir RICHARD TEMPLE would probably acknowledge that the suppression of the Slave-trade must be a practical certainty, and not a speculative contingency, if we are to spend millions in the furtherance of it. The approximate length of the proposed railway is seven hundred miles, and we should not like to guarantee against bankruptcy the contractor who undertook to make it for the sum named by Mr. WALLER. It is all very well to talk about a paltry hundred thousand a year. The initial expenses of a distant enterprise like the conquest of Uganda, an African territory of questionable value, many hundreds of miles from the coast, are no index of future cost. We are told that Uganda has been redeemed by the Christian civilization of the East Africa Company, and will be injured by the withdrawal of that agency. Unhappily, we have recent and irrefragable testimony of what Christian civilization has done for Uganda. It is furnished by the narrative of Mr. COLLINS, a Protestant missionary, who has just returned from that country. Here are one or two choice extracts from Mr. COLLINS's narrative: "Just as the messenger left the fort we heard two guns fired, and a moment afterwards two more, and then a terrible volley, which told us that the engagement had begun. At this moment a large party of Catholics were seen rushing down the hill from the King's enclosure, evidently with the object of taking the fort; but Captain LUGARD turned the Maxim gun on them, and they rushed helter-skelter among the bananas. Captain WILLIAMS also opened fire on another party with the other Maxim. When the Protestants heard the sharp rattle of the big guns they burst into rounds of cheering. . . . Captain WILLIAMS at once got his Maxim into position, and, seeing this, the King's party tried to escape from the island in their canoes; but no sooner were the boats filled than they were sunk, one after another, by the Maxim, and an immense number of the natives were drowned; going down in boatloads."

LORD ROSEBERY has not committed the Government to any positive or to any negative policy. The situation remains exactly where it was when he wrote his letter to Sir ARNOLD KEMBALL. That is to say, the Government will not assist the Company to remain in Uganda, but will help them to put off the completion of their retirement till the end of March, if such a postponement should be necessary for the protection of those who have relied upon the Company's promises. It is doubtless true, as Mr. WALLER says, that Captain LUGARD acted in Uganda as if he had been the representative of Her Majesty's Government. That he was justified in doing so there is no evidence to show, and no Member of the late Administration has come forward to defend him. That the natives of Uganda were unable to distinguish between the Company and the Crown is only too likely. That the Company were encouraged by Sir JOHN KIRK, with the connivance of LORD SALISBURY, to abandon their comparatively safe operations on the coast, and advance into the interior, is highly probable. That extremely indiscreet functionary, Sir GERALD PORTAL, is an ardent advocate of annexation now. But it is certain that while LORD SALISBURY was Prime Minister, he acquiesced in the decision of the Company to retire, and that he left office without having given any sign of his intention to step into the Company's shoes. He shirked the responsibility which properly belonged to him, apparently for fear of losing seats at the General Election if he embarked upon a career of African adventure. The Cabinet cannot be blamed for considering with the utmost care every principle and detail of a problem so complicated and delicate. There is no truth whatever in the statement that effective occupation is necessary to retain a "sphere of influence." Spheres of influence are simply mutual arrangements

between European Powers. To describe them as requiring effective occupation is almost as absurd as to talk of "scuttling" from a country we have never occupied at all.

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("THE DAILY CHRONICLE," *October 21.*)

WE are sure nobody will find fault with the manner in which LORD ROSEBERY received the Deputation of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, who waited on him yesterday with reference to Uganda. They urge the occupation of that region, and the building of a railway from the coast to the lakes, as the surest way of stopping Slavery. In a sense their contention is sound; Slavery exists because in Africa human life is much cheaper than the life of a domesticated beast of burden. It is difficult to imagine a less costly form of transport than that of the Slave, who is stolen in the first place, who need not be fed well, who, when he reaches the coast with his load can be sold if he is worth buying, or turned adrift or killed if he is not. Substitute for this human portorage some better kind of transport, and the Slave-trade would die out—such is the argument of those who want to build the railway from Mombasa to the Lakes. The Scottish missionary MACKAY, the pioneer of Christianity in Uganda, was of this opinion also, but he had an idea that cheap rough wooden tram-roads would be better than railways for Africa, in the meantime. GORDON's notion was that if we got at Central Africa and armed and disciplined the negroes they would not only beat off the Arab Slave-raiders, but overawe in the rear any power that held Khartoum, and thereby menaced Egypt. The one thing common to all these views is that those who hold them say that, in some way or other, British authority should exist in Uganda sufficient to protect our pioneers. We had hoped this authority might be established by a trading company. But the company whose office is to earn dividends does not see profit in the business, and so it retires, and Uganda comes back on our hands. Thus, as LORD ROSEBERY said yesterday, the question is not one of the Slave-trade merely; it is one affecting our whole imperial position, prospects, and responsibilities; and though the Slave question must be considered with others, yet it must not be forgotten that there are other things in Africa of equal moment to us.

Mr. CECIL RHODES and colonists of an imperial way of thinking do not value Uganda for what she is, but for what she might be. She may be destined to control our trade route between the southern and northern parts of our African Empire. When Mr. STANLEY first came home, and the Germans showed a disposition to "occupy" Central Africa, to which Uganda is the key, LORD SALISBURY, who certainly was very reluctant to meddle with the Lake region, was literally pushed by the Democratic Press into asserting a claim to Uganda. It was "the wasp's waist" of an African Empire which we must seize at all costs, said the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and we were actually made to cede Heligoland to the Germans in order to bribe them to keep out of a place alleged to be of such vital importance to us by Democratic Imperialists. We denounced that cession at the time as humiliating and costly, but it would be a more humiliating and costly one than even we could have anticipated if it is to be followed by the abandonment of that for the sake of which it was made. All these considerations have to be kept in view now in discussing the Uganda question, and we are glad to learn from LORD ROSEBERY that he is not indifferent to them. So much indeed was to be expected from him. As he said yesterday, with a flash of patriotic pride, he is himself a Scotsman, and therefore would be more than human if he could ignore the interests that have been created by pioneers of his

race, like ALEXANDER MACKAY and other Presbyterian missionaries, in whose graves the world may find our title-deeds to Central Africa. No man could have expressed in a loftier strain of eloquence his resolve to respect a historic mission in antagonism to the African Slave-trade, or to state more clearly than LORD ROSEBERY did that it would weigh heavily in the balance when the final decision as to Uganda had to be taken. But though the Foreign Secretary made his own personal prepossessions obvious, he was apparently not free to commit the Government to any definite line, and the fate of Uganda and of those who trusted to us when we went there, as the poor people at Khartoum did, still "lies on the knees of the gods." In the circumstances it is, however, to be noted that no wild scheme of occupation is advocated by anyone, which of course renders it easy for the Government to hold on to the country. Captain LUGARD's plans for keeping up a sufficient exercise of authority in Uganda are modest, and by no means costly, and they involve no terrible responsibilities—none, indeed, so great as that of being responsible for turning the Lake region into a cockpit of slaughter like Khartoum. In the circumstances, then, we can congratulate the country on the fact that LORD ROSEBERY evidently understands all the bearings of the question, and sees his way clearly, if his colleagues allow him, to follow the path of duty, which for England is ever the road to honour. We refuse to believe that what he sees so clearly will not be equally manifest to the Cabinet, all the more that Uganda, though not at present a land flowing with milk and honey, appears to open up markets for British produce which, with improved means of communication, will turn out highly profitable to us as a nation of producers.

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("THE PALL MALL GAZETTE," *October 21.*)

*The Hand on the Plough.*

THERE is still hope for Uganda. That is the one particular we may extract from LORD ROSEBERY's speech to the Deputation that waited on him yesterday. We have no indication as to the precise method in which the difficulty is to be solved; perhaps the Government itself has scarcely a clear idea yet. But the main point is that we are to live up to our responsibilities in the English way. We blunder often, we are weak on occasions, but in the end we usually come out right. In the case of Uganda it is notable that we are not to base our policy upon commercial grounds, but upon moral. What has not been conceded to the importunity of the British East Africa Company is likely to be granted to the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in other words, and to use Mr. BOSWORTH SMITH's fine phrase, the continuity of England's moral policy is of far more importance than the success of a commercial enterprise, than the addition of another country to the markets of Europe. We have borne and bear too often the reputation of hypocrisy; we are charged with putting the fair face of religion upon our most sordid commercial schemes, but we do well to pay no attention to these unjust sneers. We have set the world an example in trade, it is true, but we have also set the world an example in philanthropy; ever since we voluntarily spent many millions in buying out the Slave-owners in our midst, we have been privileged to demand that Europe shall trust our good faith. For eighty years we have given a perpetual earnest of our benevolent feeling for humanity, and we are not to turn chickenhearted in Uganda to-day.

The question, indeed, is of national interest; in LORD ROSEBERY's words it is "an Imperial question of policy." The Company does not trouble us; though we



wish it well, we are not vitally concerned with the fortunes of any private body of speculators. The real point is that we have entered into serious obligations, and these we must fulfil without flinching. At the Brussels Conference the Powers bound themselves to a certain policy for the suppression of the Slave-trade. This included the establishment of stations in the interior of Africa, and the construction of roads and railways to the coast; and it was further agreed most definitely that though the authority might be delegated to Chartered Companies the ultimate responsibility should rest upon the Powers themselves. The Deputation reminded LORD ROSEBERY of these stipulations, and suggested that the responsibility might be covered by the construction of a railway from Mombasa to Victoria-Nyanza, and the establishment of a protectorate in Uganda. The construction of the railway at a cost of two millions and a half would involve guaranteeing the interest on this sum, which would be a serious addition to the annual charges on behalf of Uganda; moreover, a railway cannot be built in a hurry, nor can a country in the heart of Africa be civilised in a hurry; so that, however desirable this connection with the coast may be, it cannot be settled offhand. And though advantageous for the spread of commerce, and invaluable in a thousand ways, the railway, even according to one of the Deputation, the Rev. HORACE WALLER, would not "make a very appreciable difference in the export of Slaves from Africa." It is difficult, however, to regard the matter in this light, seeing that remoteness and inaccessibility are the mainstay of barbarism; but as Mr. WALLER speaks out of a large experience—as the friend and companion of LIVINGSTONE—he ought to know. But let us leave the railway for future determination. There remains and presses the great question of the abandonment. The Deputation has boldly demanded the constitution of a Protectorate; and for many reasons it is impossible to ignore this request. As the case stands, the Company is destined to withdraw from the scene of its gallant struggles at the end of March. The obligations have proved too heavy for it, and, after all, a company is a commercial undertaking, and is not conducted upon philanthropic principles. It would be absurd to expect the shareholders to continue paying out money with no prospect of getting value for it, however benevolent they are at heart. But it would be equally absurd that England should subsidise the Company to do her duties for her. To fulfil our obligations Uganda must be held; even if it becomes necessary for England to enter into possession by the establishment of a protectorate. If this were done, the Company, relieved from the main duties of government, would be enabled to pursue its work with a single heart. While England maintained order the rich and fertile land would be opened up and utilised by private industry; the security of the missions would be assured; the native tribes would be kept in peace; and the Slave-trade would be gradually and systematically destroyed. We do not know what course LORD ROSEBERY will take, but, whether this is the solution or not, it is clear something is to be done. The continuity of moral policy is to be preserved. Our hand has been put to the plough, and, as the Foreign Secretary says, "we shall not be able, even if we were willing, to look back." It takes three months to communicate with Uganda from the coast; between now and Christmas we may confidently look for action on the part of the Government.

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(*"MORNING ADVERTISER," October 21.*)

LORD ROSEBERY has had another opportunity of expressing his views, and the intentions of the Government, as regards the question of the evacuation of Uganda. The large and influential Deputation of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY

SOCIETY, and those in sympathy with its views on this subject, which he received yesterday at the Foreign Office, stated their case with much cogency. The Memorial presented was studiously moderate in tone, and the views advanced well deserved the attention that was bestowed on them. Much that LORD ROSEBERY said was excellent. Throughout his tone was sympathetic, and he himself accentuated the Imperial importance of the problem for consideration. Nevertheless, and although we fully recognise the difficulty of giving any definite pledge of policy on such an occasion, his reply is in some ways unsatisfactory. If to call the question an Imperial rather than a Departmental one means that the policy of the Foreign Office has its initiation not from LORD ROSEBERY but from Mr. GLADSTONE, there is certainly good cause for apprehension. The dealings of the Prime Minister with African problems in the past may well fill us with alarm for the future. If, however, LORD ROSEBERY does but desire to have time for consideration, and to give this most important matter the searching investigation it deserves, his action is both reasonable and wise. We but recently stated that we considered the result of such an examination would be to vindicate the wisdom of the view that an effectual control should be maintained of Uganda and the British sphere of influence in the region of the equatorial lakes. Evidence of the anarchy that would follow the abandonment of these districts grows stronger day by day. We published yesterday the report of an interview with Mr. W. COLLINS, a Missionary who has just returned from Uganda. The picture he drew of the reign of war and violence existing before Captain LUGARD's settlement of the country gives some idea of what would happen were the forces of order withdrawn. Nor are horrors, however terrible, impossible or even improbable. The publication by Major WINGATE, from the original manuscripts of Father OHRWALDER, of the story of ten years' captivity in the MAHDI's camp, from 1882 until 1892, affords a revelation of murder, misery, and despair. No Englishman, with the history of our dealings with the Soudan in his mind, can read it without an uneasy feeling of responsibility. The appeal of the late priest of the Austrian station at Delen, in Kordofan, that England should deliver the enslaved and decimated peoples of the Soudan is grave enough. It comes with vivid distinctness from one who in his ten years' bondage has tasted the bitterness of the cup they have to drink. How grim a commentary it makes on the proposals to leave Uganda to its fate, and to remove such barriers as now exist to the sweep of internecine strife and the raid of the Slave-trader.

We have recently, and at some length, reviewed the various arguments in favour of retaining a foothold in Equatorial Africa. It is not necessary to go again over the same ground. In the hands of such exponents as Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, M.P., and Sir ALBERT ROLLIT, M.P., the case presented by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was sure of being endorsed by practical arguments. Mr. CHARLES M'ARTHUR, the President of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, was a valuable additional witness to the trade aspect of the question. Mr. BOSWORTH SMITH made an able speech in support of the necessity for continuity in the moral policy of England. We do not in the least intend to underrate this last aspect of the case or to hint for a moment that there was any trace of insincerity in LORD ROSEBERY's treatment of it; nevertheless, we should have welcomed rather less platitude and rather more explicit declarations on practical points. The Memorial of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY suggested a definite course of action. It asked that the Government should "afford its guarantee, for a longer or shorter period, of the interest on the capital required for the construction of the railway now being surveyed from the harbour of Mombasa to the Victoria-Nyanza," and "establish a protectorate in the country in question, under a duly appointed Commissioner, as in

the case of Nyassaland." These are suggestions that go to the root of the matter. Had LORD ROSEBERY commented upon them much might have been gained. Any adverse comments would have shown on what points, in his opinion, additional evidence was necessary. We welcome his substantial declaration that the position attained by England with regard to the Slave-trade was a barrier to retrogression, but the exact meaning is not clear. LORD ROSEBERY has gained, and we believe rightly gained, a large amount of public confidence. In the sincerity of his intention to preserve and persevere in the foreign policy of LORD SALISBURY, which has during the last few years proved so beneficial to the country, there is as yet no reason to doubt. Yet the confidence generally felt in LORD ROSEBERY is mainly a personal confidence. He will have to prove that he is strong enough to rule the foreign policy of his party, and not simply to act as the executive agent of Mr. GLADSTONE. The so-called policy of universal scuttle has many adherents in the body of the Gladstonian party, if not amongst the Cabinet. It has a record of disaster in the past. We are glad that the views of the Deputation are to have every consideration on the part of the Government. Let us reiterate the hope that LORD ROSEBERY may prove master of the situation.

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("THE DAILY TELEGRAPH," *October 21*).

• • • • "The continuity of moral policy" is, we are glad to notice, the burden of LORD ROSEBERY's sympathetic speech. He cannot, of course, speaking for the Government of which he is one of the most prominent members, make promises which may meet with the criticism and disapproval of less ardent exponents of the Imperial idea. His own sentiments, however, are very thinly veiled under the polite disguises of official caution. Naturally enough the Cabinet will have to look at the Uganda question from many different points of view. They will have to give weight to considerations which those who speak only from the side of their own interests are apt to disregard. The general principle, nevertheless, is clearly and emphatically laid down; we have put our hands to the plough, and it would be criminal folly to look back. It is not only that we have incurred responsibilities which cannot now be shifted to other shoulders, though this is a consideration which cannot lightly be passed over; nor is it merely that we have made certain promises, tacit or explicit, to the East Africa Company, from which it would hardly be common justice to draw back. The issue is more serious still—whether we regard it from the standpoint of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, or adopt the larger outlook of the Statesman. England has undertaken to suppress Slavery, and by retiring from Uganda she would put fresh heart into the Arab Slave-dealers. That is one point, on which due stress was laid yesterday. But there is another, which no lover of justice or mercy can think of unmoved. To what fate are we abandoning this important region in the heart of Africa? It is as certain as any event dependent on historic analogies can be that Uganda will become a second Soudan, a scene of widespread carnage, desolation, and misery. In Father OHRWALDER's interesting account of the characteristics of Mahdism, to which we called attention yesterday, there is no feature of the narrative which has a more appalling significance than the picture which he draws of a deserted and therefore ruined Soudan. It is obvious that the fate of what used to be an Egyptian province might be equally realised in a district abandoned by English authority. We can never leave Uganda as we found it, and, however we may excuse the step to ourselves, it will be our fault if anarchy and Slavery take the place of order and freedom. This is what we expect statesmanship to prevent; it is, above all, the art not only of



avoiding revolutions but of promoting ethical ideas. If, however, it be in any sense true that our nation will be judged in the future by the energy and perseverance with which it pursues a lofty policy of morality and liberty, as LORD ROSEBERY so wisely declared yesterday, the lesson is one which is not only adapted to African colonisation, but which should come "to our business and bosoms" much nearer home. For only by disregarding the parochial squabbles of contemporary politics, and rising to the full measure of our destiny as the united and harmonious citizens of a great Empire, can we hope to fulfil the task allotted to us in the evolution of the world's history.

(*"THE STANDARD," October 21.*)

° ° ° We have given the substance of LORD ROSEBERY's declaration as far as possible in his own words, because they form not only an eloquent, but an accurate and compendious, account of the case for the retention of Uganda as part of the Imperial sphere. The interview was doubly useful, both because it elicited this welcome exposition of official opinion, and because it enabled those representing the cause which, according to LORD ROSEBERY, must occupy "a commanding place" among the manifold considerations affecting the decision, to set forth, with exemplary precision, the arguments against abandonment. The humanitarian motive, no doubt, was the fundamental one; but it was supplemented—not fortified—by many pleas that appeal to the purely business intelligence. Nor, though all who took part in the Deputation were in thorough accord with its main purpose, was it confined to members and supporters of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Commerce was represented by the Presidents of the London and of the Liverpool Chambers; there was an authorised exponent of Colonial opinion; Missionary enterprise (which, indeed, it would be hard to distinguish from Anti-Slavery zeal) had a singularly well-informed spokesman; and the sympathies of both the Churches which have to deplore the feud between their respective converts in Uganda were equally displayed. Nor did it detract from the weight of the representations made that there was no disposition to blink what was unpleasant in the outlook, nor to indulge in blindly sanguine estimates of future possibilities. Mr. WALLER—than whom few Englishmen are better qualified to pronounce judgment—acknowledged that, as far as he knew, there was no regular and established Slave route from Uganda to the coast; and he dwelt almost in tones of protest on the fact that in Zanzibar and Pemba, under the very shadow of our flag, Slavery is an institution, and that even the East Africa Company, in its relations to Uganda, had not been able to dispense with servitude as a form of labour. Something may be said, and perhaps ought to be said, to qualify the hasty deductions that might be drawn from these admissions. Although there may now be no systematic traffic in Slaves from Uganda, it is almost absolutely certain that if the kingdom were allowed to relapse into anarchy it would become a hotbed of the detestable trade, for the wretched people would themselves become its victims. On the other hand, if once a civilised Power were established there, it would be, by reason of its geographical position, a superb centre for striking at the evil in its ramifications elsewhere. As to the complaint that every Expedition to the interior depends for porters on men whose status practically is that of Slaves, it has to be explained that, though the necessity is intrinsically to be regretted, the employment of persons who are not free is only a temporary expedient in the course of efforts to abolish the traffic, and to substitute a *régime* of open contract and honest hire. It is true that, so far, the system against which we have declared war has to be recognised and utilised; but the effect is at once to diminish, if not to abolish, the flagrant evils which make it odious.

("THE GLOBE," October 21.

THE rail upon which LORD ROSEBERY was obliged to take his seat yesterday would have been a great deal sharper and altogether more uncomfortable had it not been for the singular inconsistency of the views upon the occupation of Uganda expressed by so representative a body as the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Whatever his personal opinions may be, and even were he in a position to enforce them upon the Cabinet, he and his colleagues would be compelled to pause in consideration of the proceedings at the Foreign Office yesterday. The Deputation was introduced by Mr. ARTHUR PEASE on the unqualified ground that the projected railway demands Government support as a step towards abolishing Slavery and the Slave-trade, and that this, practically, is a sufficient *raison d'être* altogether irrespectively of commercial interest or enterprise. Unfortunately, the Rev. H. WALLER, who must surely have been included in the Deputation without an antecedent inquiry as to his views on the subject, declared, with the authority of personal and local knowledge, that the Slave-trade has been already and altogether annulled in Uganda; that he did not believe that the railway would make any appreciable difference in the export of Slaves from Africa generally; and that whereas we have acquired the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba in the hope of civilising those countries, Slavery still flourishes in them as it does not flourish in Uganda. LORD ROSEBERY was naturally compelled to pay attention to the statements of Mr. WALLER, who is to-day paying the penalty for having told too much truth at an unseasonable time. No doubt, however, Mr. WALLER, if he did little service to the Company whose interests the disinterested Deputation came to support, did much service to LORD ROSEBERY, who was able to dismiss his visitors with a well-sounding essay upon the "Continuity of Moral Policy."

The essay, however, was useful in more important respects than in helping to save the head of a department from committing himself, without the co-operation of his colleagues, on a subject of Imperial Policy. The "Continuity of Moral Policy," if it be regarded as equivalent of the consistency of national policy—as we suppose it may—is of very obvious importance indeed. Supposing that the occupation of Uganda by railway were determined upon, this would mean that another opportunity would be given to Mr. GLADSTONE for inconsistency, and for going back upon his own resolution whenever it became in the least inconvenient to him. Not even to his own supporters should this view appear to be the dealing of hard measure. The history of railway enterprise has not been encouraging in this connection. It was professed that the Suakin-Berber Railway would abolish the Slave-trade in those regions at the comparatively trifling cost of about a million sterling. The million was certainly expended; but what is left to show for it? Not more, according to some accounts, than the chains which have been made for Slave gangs out of the rails. Nor, to say the least, is there the slightest security for the confidence that a much more costly work in a district always liable to disturbance, of which nobody can forecast the future, and as to the condition of which we have still to rely upon conflicting and *ex parte* statements, would be any more hopeful as a national investment than as a philanthropic enterprise. Slavery evidently cannot be abolished off-hand by steam, though it may suit those who are interested—we do not mean the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY—to represent such abolition as sufficient payment to the State for relieving them of their heaviest expenses. Such business as this is not to be intrusted to a Cabinet which is pretty evidently not in agreement on the subject, which may fail to retain control of any public business for very long, and may at any moment be seized with a characteristic paroxysm of scuttle.

The most important passage in LORD ROSEBERY's answer to the Deputation was his observation that the question is beyond that of obligations under the Brussels Conference, or of conflict with other Powers for spheres of influence—but that men who do not wish to draw back, when once their hand is placed, may well hesitate for a moment before definitely placing their hand on so large a position. Not only for a moment, we may add, but for a great many moments, LORD ROSEBERY's sense of responsibility is presumably shared more or less by his colleagues; and it is satisfactory that they have so far benefited by their own experiences. If it so happens that his sense of responsibility is inspired from higher quarters, its existence is all the more satisfactory; and if the Cabinet does not happen to be unanimous, it is well to fall back upon the good old maxim, "When in doubt, do nothing." It would be a grievous misfortune were a Government, of which Mr. GLADSTONE is at the head, to put its hand definitely to a course which could not be changed without waste of expenditure, and a still worst waste of national prestige, and yet which at any moment might become liable to be abandoned. There would be a guarantee for a continuity of policy on the part of a Conservative Government, were that policy right or wrong; and perseverance in any policy, where questions of national prestige and influence are concerned, is at any rate preferable to shifting opportunism. In matters of foreign affairs, consistency is everything; and it need not be added that, under the existing *régime*, consistency must needs be an unknown quantity. Evidently the Cabinet itself is conscious of its shortcomings in this all-important respect; and it may at any rate be hoped that it will take as many moments in coming to a definite decision on the Uganda question as will be comprised in its Ministerial existence. By that means only can "Moral Continuity" be maintained.

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("THE ECHO," October 21.)

THE text of the agreement arranged by Captain LUGARD with the Roman Catholic chiefs of Uganda, and which is published in *The Times* this morning, cannot but have much weight in the discussions that have arisen over our future relations with that interesting region of Central Africa. Seldom does a Minister, in replying to a deputation, rise to such a height of eloquence as LORD ROSEBERY did yesterday, when he described Uganda as "a field of heroic enterprise that has been recently watered by the blood of our saints and martyrs." So much good work has been done there by ALEXANDER MACKAY and others that we are reluctant to see it undone; and if Captain LUGARD has established something like a Roman peace by the division of the country between the Catholic and Protestant chiefs, then let the whole question be fairly reconsidered. The Anti-Slavery Deputation, which waited upon LORD ROSEBERY yesterday, is anxious that a railway shall be constructed from the port of Mombasa, on the Zanzibar Coast, to the shores of the Victoria-Nyanza, a distance of about 600 miles, or at least to Kikuyu, which is about half way. Such a line could only be constructed by means of a guarantee from Government, but there is reason to believe that, directly or indirectly, the expenditure would be productive. John Bull wants fresh markets, and in strangling the Slave-trade at the same time that he extends his trade he is making the best of both worlds in a truly British fashion. This country is not disposed to do in Uganda what the French are doing in Dahomey, but nothing of the kind is needed. LORD ROSEBERY received the Deputation sympathetically, and it is to be hoped that the whole case will be fully and dispassionately considered, in the light of the most recent events.



(“THE STAR,” *October 21.*)

VERY important indeed was yesterday's conference on the intricate set of problems connected with Uganda, and very prudent and statesmanlike the reply which LORD ROSEBERY made to the Memorial and the addresses of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. The Society represents, of course, only a single side of a large question, but it is undoubtedly a highly important side, and its bearings were well explained yesterday. One sentence in the Memorial supplies the key to the Society's position. “It is the persuasion of this Society that the withdrawal of those Powers which have lately in some degree placed a check upon Slave-raiding, will be followed by an outburst of hostilities, and an immediate expansion of the Slave-trade.” Force is added to this contention by the revoltingly terrible picture of the present condition of the Soudan, painted by Father OHRWALDER in his book that was published yesterday. It devolved, however, upon LORD ROSEBERY to point out that the problem in Uganda is a rope of many strands. “The Government, in framing its policy, has to consider every aspect of the question—not merely its responsibility in respect to the Slave-trade, but its responsibility in respect to the future, and its responsibility with regard to the tax-payers of this country.” Perhaps the opposition of the terms “the Slave-trade” and “the future” is a little misleading. But LORD ROSEBERY is evidently impressed with what Mr. BOSWORTH SMITH called the “Continuity of Moral Policy.” “It is,” he said, “the salt which savours our history ; it is the spirit which has exalted it,” and he declared that in coming to a final decision as to policy the Government would not overlook this moral aspect of the question.

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(“THE SPECTATOR,” *October 22.*)

THE Government, as we supposed, has not decided to give up Uganda. A great Deputation from the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY waited, on Thursday, on LORD ROSEBERY, and laid the whole case before him from their point of view. The Foreign Secretary's reply was substantially that to administer Uganda, and make the necessary approaches, was a big job ; that he was not a dictator, but only a member of a Government ; but that, personally, he was in favour of doing the work, not only because Uganda dominates the Nile basin, but because it was essential to keep up what Mr. BOSWORTH SMITH had called the “Continuity of the Moral Policy” of Britain. LORD ROSEBERY spoke with unexpected warmth of the necessity of suppressing the Slave-trade ; and expressed a belief that, having put our hands to the plough, “we shall not be able to look back.” Uganda, we imagine, is pretty safe if only the Scotch Members will make their constituents' opinion visible to the Cabinet.

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(“BROAD ARROW,” *October 22.*)

THE important reply which the Foreign Secretary gave to the Deputation that waited upon him on Thursday, on the subject of the East African Slave-trade, has been accepted as implying a probable modification of the views of the Cabinet with respect to Uganda. What LORD ROSEBERY said and what has fixed attention is the sentence or passage which admits that Uganda may be the “key to Central Africa,” and it is important therefore that the interests of this country, as a whole, should be considered by the Cabinet. The question, explained LORD ROSEBERY, is not a departmental one exclusively, and it is not surprising to find that these expressions, sound and defensible as they undoubtedly are, have created a profound impression

in "chartered" circles. They certainly scarcely harmonise with the doctrine of "scoot," as a member of the Deputation privately remarked as he left the Foreign Office. It is possible of course that the words speak LORD ROSEBERY's own mind and that alone. Or it is conceivable that Captain LUGARD has modified the views of the Cabinet, as propounded in his letter to Sir ARNOLD KEMBALL. But in any case the speech bears an interesting, because a new, interpretation, and one which adds novelty to the fate of Uganda.

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("COURT JOURNAL," *October 22*).

LORD ROSEBERY has received a Deputation from the ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION, their object being simply in support of the aims which their designation as an Association affirms. They came away well satisfied with his Lordship, who had shown to them that the moral considerations of this country and its civilising mission will have due weight, while all financial and commercial interests involved in the acquisition of Uganda will be carefully considered. We may be well content, therefore, to leave the question of retaining power over Uganda in his hands, and certain that he will be no advocate of "scuttle." The ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION Deputation, which was a very solemn body of men, were quite cheerful and pleased at the result of their mission to the Foreign Secretary.

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("LEEDS MERCURY," *October 21*).

LORD ROSEBERY went as far as could be demanded yesterday, says our London Correspondent, in his interview with the Deputation from the ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION. It was not to be expected that on a question so difficult and complex as that which has arisen in connection with Uganda he would be able to give a reply off-hand to the representations made by the Memorialists on the subject of railway extension and the establishment of a protectorate; but the tone of his speech was beyond criticism, even from those who most ardently desire the extinction of the Slave-trade. Obviously it is a question of Imperial import, and can, after due attention has been given to all the interests involved, only be finally settled by the Cabinet. That LORD ROSEBERY's views will have great weight with his colleagues goes without saying; and he sufficiently indicated yesterday that his sympathies are largely with the moral side of territorial acquisition, which the Deputation in such a special sense represented. This higher civilising mission we could not, he frankly acknowledged, abandon if we would; it must, indeed, occupy a commanding place in the consideration of the question as a whole. With this sympathetic assurance the Deputation appeared to be very well satisfied. They received no pledge, but inasmuch as they were assured of their representations having the fullest measure of consideration, they regarded the interview as highly satisfactory.

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("THE SCOTSMAN," *October 21*).

THE Deputation from the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY did not go away from the Foreign Office this afternoon disappointed. They could not expect a declaration of policy, but the impression left by LORD ROSEBERY's speech is that he, at any rate, is heartily with them in their desire to see Uganda retained under civilising influences. There is a belief in well-informed circles that the Government are willing to remain in the country and to establish a Protectorate, if only they feel secure of their backing. They

know that the Jacobyns will cry out against that policy, but they know also that in the manufacturing districts there is lively interest in the future of Uganda, and they are, it is understood, waiting to see how far that feeling will assert itself. LORD ROSEBERY, it is evident from his remarks this afternoon, takes a higher view of the question than that. It is permissible to assume that his mind at least is clearly made up in favour of retaining Uganda, and that he has come to this conclusion on high Imperial and humanitarian grounds. The hopes of all who are interested in African civilisation will be encouraged by what has taken place to-day. The Labouchere cabal will, it is certain, work indefatigably below ground to circumvent the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY and its friends; but if only there is sufficient activity their machinations may be frustrated. The fact that Mr. JOHN COWAN, the Chairman of Mr. GLADSTONE'S Mid-Lothian Committee, was expected to be a member of the Deputation seemed to strike LORD ROSEBERY as of special interest, for when the name was called by Mr. PEASE, who introduced the Deputation, he looked up with marked alertness. Mr. COWAN, however, was unable to be present. He was expected to be one of the speakers.

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(“THE EVENING NEWS,” *October 21*).

LORD ROSEBERY'S reply to the Deputation from the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, which waited upon him yesterday afternoon, is thoroughly Gladstonian in spirit and form, though he has concealed his opinions in fewer words than would have been used in similar case by the “old man eloquent.” The business of the Deputation was to request Her Majesty's Government to guarantee interest on the capital required for the construction of a railway between Mombasa and the Victoria-Nyanza, and to establish a Protectorate in Uganda under a duly appointed Commissioner. Put forward on behalf of a purely philanthropic society, which may be assumed to desire the continuance and extension of British influence in the country only with a view to the suppression of the Slave-trade, the foregoing programme was nevertheless supported by many of the speakers at yesterday's demonstration, on grounds of policy and of patriotism as well as of piety and philanthropy. In fact, the case for the Deputation was much stronger from the commercial point of view than from that of sympathy with the victims of the African Slave-trade. Sir RICHARD TEMPLE put forward the popular view that it is only necessary to make your railway and there you are, that the railway will defend the railway, that the whistle of the steam engine will be the death signal of Slavery, and the rattle of the freight cars will convert the constitutionally and habitually bloodthirsty savage into a peaceable ratepayer. But the Rev. HORACE WALLER, who followed Sir RICHARD, and spoke as one having knowledge and authority, with the weight of friendship and companionship with LIVINGSTONE, sadly discounted the effect of his predecessor's contention by confessing that he did not regard the railway as being at all a reliable patent for the abolition of Slavery, and pointing out that Slavery still flourishes largely in Zanzibar and Pemba, under the auspices of Great Britain, and that Slaves are actually in the employment of the East Africa Company in Uganda. Sir ALBERT ROLLIT struck on firmer ground when, with a graceful reference to the philanthropy which was the “primary” object of the Deputation, he expressed, on behalf of the London Chamber of Commerce, strong approval of the programme submitted by the Deputation. The representatives of Commerce in Liverpool and Birmingham followed with similar expressions of opinion, and then the moral aspect of the question was reverted to with the result of drawing a graceful figure of speech from Mr. BOSWORTH SMITH, who



showed the value of a "continuity of the moral policy of England." To all this LORD ROSEBERY replied that he could not, on his own responsibility, give a definite answer on such a large question of Imperial policy, that he felt very keenly interested in the future of Uganda, as a practical man and as the countryman of the Christian hero, ALEXANDER MACKAY, and that the policy submitted to him by the Deputation would "occupy a commanding place" in the considerations which would be weighed by the Government in deciding what they should do in Uganda.

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(*"SATURDAY REVIEW," October 22.*)

THE reply of LORD ROSEBERY to the Deputation of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY on the Uganda question was as satisfactory as could be reasonably expected in the circumstances. The final decision of the Government rested, of course, not with LORD ROSEBERY, as he was careful to point out; but in all he said as to the importance of the question, it was clear that he sympathized with the representations of the Deputation. The Deputation put the case against the evacuation of Uganda from the philanthropic point of view. They had every reason to be gratified by LORD ROSEBERY's comments on that strictly non-political and non-commercial position. His references to past missionary labours and to present missionary enterprise were not the least pleasing reassurances that were offered to the Deputation. They could not but be satisfied with LORD ROSEBERY's expression of sympathy with their purely philanthropic views. With regard to the extinction of Slavery in Africa, wherever there is a British sphere of influence, LORD ROSEBERY used no uncertain language. "Having put our hands to the plough," he observed, "in that great enterprise, we shall not be able, even if we were willing, to look back." He regarded Uganda as a country of great possibilities, as the key, perhaps, of Central Africa, and was altogether convinced that the aspect of the question represented by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was extremely important. Finally, LORD ROSEBERY declared that the representations of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY would occupy a commanding place in the considerations of the Government when the final resolution is to be determined.

But LORD ROSEBERY, though he strictly confined his reply to special objects of the Deputation, evidently is keenly alive to the fact that there are other aspects of the question not less important, and other arguments against evacuating Uganda at least as weighty, as that inspired by Anti-Slavery apprehensions. He spoke with conviction and force of the responsibilities of the Government, both with regard to obligations incurred in the past, under the Brussels Convention, for example, and with regard to the future. LORD ROSEBERY spoke also of their responsibility with regard to the taxpayer in England. Perhaps it is taking a low ground, after assuming a lofty philanthropic position, to view the Uganda question from the stand-point of the taxpayer's pocket. But is this the kind of responsibility that should weigh greatly in such a question as this? To retain our interest and influence in Uganda need not, and should not, involve us in any extravagant enterprise or costly expedition; whereas, as we have urged before, there is nothing more likely to make such expeditions necessary than the policy of abandonment. LORD ROSEBERY is, no doubt, fully justified in regarding the Uganda question as a large question and a many-sided question. Many-sided as it is, it cannot be said to present more aspects of importance than do the arguments against the sacrifice of British influence in Uganda. The Anti-Slavery contentions form one argument among many, some inspired by purely

non-political considerations, all of which show how grievous a mistake it must prove to lose our hold of Uganda. LORD ROSEBERY himself defined the importance of that country and our relations to it in remarkable terms. He spoke of Uganda as commanding the Nile basin, and as, perhaps, the key of Central Africa—which, indeed, is what competent judges are agreed to regard it. We have held that key on certain valid grounds and agreements, and have no conceivable reason for relinquishing our hold and dropping it into the hands of others.

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(“WEEKLY DISPATCH,” *October 23.*)

LORD ROSEBERY gracefully uttered some estimable sentiments in his reply to the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY'S Deputation that waited on him, on Thursday, to back up the earlier appeals of the British East Africa Company and the Church Missionary Society, in favour of a “forward policy” in Uganda. But his peroration in praise of “moral force” was not in keeping with the vague but dangerous talk that preceded it. Whether or not he is hampered—as we hope he is—by the braver and more truly patriotic convictions of some of his colleagues, it is pretty clear that he is himself more or less in sympathy with the commercial adventurers, the religious zealots, and the sham philanthropists, who are banded together in a resolute effort to plunge England into a dangerous and disgraceful crusade in Central Africa. These three bodies bear different names, but several of their prominent members are directors or committeemen in all three, or in two at any rate, and though they speak with separate voices, and use more or less different language, their aims are one and the same. The other day the British East Africa Company cried pitifully, “Save us from the ruin that is inevitable, unless the Government takes on itself the responsibility of carrying on the experiment in empire-making and commercial aggrandisement on which we recklessly embarked.” Then the Church Missionary Society called arrogantly on LORD ROSEBERY to rescue the Protestant missionaries and their native hangers-on from the perils they will incur, unless the killing of Catholics, in which they have thus far been successful, is supplemented by the employment of a great many more soldiers and Maxim guns than Captain LUGARD and his evangelical allies had at command. And now the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY insists on the necessity of Uganda being held, and utilised as a base of operations for the suppression of Slavery in all this vast section of “the Dark Continent,” a section nearly as large as the whole of Europe. To all these impudent appeals LORD ROSEBERY has made substantially the same answer. He cannot pledge the Government to do more than help the aggressors and busybodies to jog on till next March, and he implies a hope that in the next six months they will so act as to have a chance of afterwards managing for themselves. But plainer words were wanted, and we trust they will be uttered by Mr. GLADSTONE, if not by his Foreign Minister. The best plea these people, misguided or worse, can put forward is that, blunders or crimes having been committed in the past, it is necessary that they should be followed up by greater blunders which, committed knowingly, cannot but be crimes. In the old days Christians were forbidden to do evil that good might come. Now it seems to be a Christian rule that evil ought to be done in the hope or on the chance of good resulting from it.

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(“THE BIRMINGHAM DAILY MAIL,” *October 21.*)

LORD ROSEBERY'S reply to the Deputation of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, which waited upon him yesterday, was far from discouraging. He is cognisant of the interest which is being taken in the fate of Uganda, and he assured the Deputation that the

Government were far from viewing the matter with indifference, or as something which did not affect the Imperial interests. They were also fully alive to the strategic importance of Uganda "as a country of great possibilities, as the key, perhaps, of Central Africa, as commanding the Nile basin," he said. But most important of all, he assured the Deputation that "the continuity of moral policy," *i.e.*, the moral claims which Uganda has upon us from being within our sphere, and having to a certain extent been brought under direct control, was recognised by the Government. His Lordship, of course, was not able to give a definite answer as to whether or not a State guaranteed dividend for the projected railway from Mombasa to the lakes would be looked upon with favour. From the strenuous opposition which Mr. GLADSTONE offered to the grant for the survey, we should think that the Premier at least would be strongly against such a proposition. But the "continuity of moral policy" can be maintained without a subsidised railway. All that the opponents of evacuation really care for just now is that some sort of authority shall be found to take the place of the British East Africa Company when it comes out in March to keep Uganda from anarchy, and if the Government provide such an authority the opening up of the country can be left to ordinary private trade enterprise.

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("IRISH TIMES," October 21.)

A VERY important statement was elicited yesterday from LORD ROSEBERY, which again supplies proof that he is as a Foreign Minister quite at variance with the theories proclaimed by his Chief, and during a former Ministry fatally for England followed out by him. To an African Anti-Slavery Deputation, LORD ROSEBERY said that in his opinion the Deputation represented what he described as "the greatest force of all—that *continuity of moral policy* that Great Britain could not afford at any time or under any dispensation to disregard." This is a doctrine admirably and honestly stated, and it ought to apply, we may add, as much at least in Ireland as in Africa. That by the way. It is of Africa LORD ROSEBERY is speaking, and he adds—"That continuity of moral policy was the moral force by which this country was to be judged—it was the salt that savoured our history; it was the spirit that had exalted us, and it was by it when we passed away that in his belief we should come to be judged." England was not to turn back—not to confess defeat—to stand by what she had done, and act on a principle of "continuity"—the very principle which statesmen-quacks deride and disown. It would be well if all the Cabinet were of the same mind and spirit as LORD ROSEBERY.

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("COURRIER DE LONDRES," October 23.)

LA SOCIÉTÉ ANGLAISE ET ÉTRANGÈRE pour la suppression de l'esclavage a envoyé une députation à lord Rosebery pour demander au gouvernement britannique de continuer à garantir l'intérêt sur le capital nécessaire à la construction du chemin de fer de Mombassa à Victoria-Nyanza. Le ministre des affaires étrangères a répondu aux délégués que, personnellement, il était d'avis que l'Ouganda était la clef de l'Afrique centrale et, que, quoiqu'il n'eût pas le droit d'engager le ministère, il estimait que les Anglais, ayant mis la main à la charrue, étaient tenus de continuer cette politique morale qui, jusqu'ici, avait caractérisé leurs efforts désintéressés en faveur de la suppression de l'esclavage.



("BRISTOL TIMES AND MIRROR," *October 22.*)

It is not easy to say off-hand what is to be the Government policy with regard to Uganda. LORD ROSEBERY's speech to the Deputation which waited on him yesterday has been the topic of the day ; and it is not so much the *ipsissima* as what can be read through the lines which has formed the subject of the gossip of the hour. The Foreign Secretary's speech has about it all the elements of a climb down ; but those who like to look at these matters from the inner circle point of view are not quite sure whether LORD ROSEBERY is stiffening his back as against certain of his colleagues, or whether he is acting as the mouthpiece of the whole Cabinet, who have now discovered what a grave mistake they have made in even suggesting that Uganda should be left to its fate. LORD ROSEBERY's remarks about our connection with the past history of the suppression of the Slave-trade, of the advantageous effect of the spread of Christianity, and its attendant civilisation, have had an effect ; but even the callous and hard-hearted do not regard them as so much soft-sawder. They probably express the views of LORD ROSEBERY's colleagues.

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("WESTERN MORNING NEWS," *October 22.*)

So far as public opinion is voiced to-day it is universally in favour of LORD ROSEBERY's views regarding Uganda, as expressed in his reply to the Deputation of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. All Unionists are delighted. Radicals prefer to wait until something more definite as to our future line of policy in Central Africa is vouchsafed. The views of the Directors of the East Africa Company have not yet been made public. But the construction put upon the words of the Foreign Secretary is everywhere that which I adopted in writing last night. The East Africa Company may retire from Uganda, but British influence will not be altogether withdrawn from it. There will be a meeting of the Cabinet on Thursday, after which the means to be adopted in carrying out our policy may be made known. For the present they are kept a well-guarded secret. We are to continue to hold our own in Uganda, but under what conditions no one is yet permitted to reveal.

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("LEEDS MERCURY," *October 21.*)

THE Deputation from the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, who approached LORD ROSEBERY yesterday with regard to the future of Uganda, had certainly no reason to complain of the reception which the Foreign Secretary accorded to them. Nothing could have been more cordially sympathetic than the terms in which LORD ROSEBERY referred to the work and the aims of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. He frankly adopted from Mr. BOSWORTH SMITH the phrase "continuity of moral policy," as indicating one of the great objects at which all British Governments must aim, and told the Deputation before him that in his opinion the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY specially represented that continuity. With a flash of that stately eloquence which is at his command, the Foreign Secretary maintained that the great glory of England in the eyes of the future historian would lie in the heroic and self-denying exertions which she has put forth to suppress the iniquitous Slave-traffic, and added, "My belief is, Gentlemen, that having put our hands to the plough in that great enterprise, we shall not be able, even if we were willing, to go back. I do not say this," concluded LORD ROSEBERY, "as pledging the Government to pursue any course of policy with regard to Uganda, because I am not here, and this is not the place, to declare that policy ; but I will say this, that in the multiplicity of the considerations

which we must weigh and balance before coming to a final resolution on this subject, the great cause which you have come here to advocate to-day must occupy a commanding place." It can hardly be necessary for us to point out how completely the language of the Foreign Secretary bears out the interpretation which we placed upon the concluding portion of the letter written on his behalf to the British East Africa Company after the Cabinet Council some three weeks ago. The freedom which the Government then reserved to themselves with regard to the future of Uganda, after the postponed evacuation by the Company, was no mere form of words, but involved the virtual recognition of national responsibility for the decision, whatever it might be. But LORD ROSEBERY did not confine himself yesterday to the impressive declaration to which we have referred on the subject of England's peculiar honour among the nations in relation to her Anti-Slavery policy, and the obligation laid upon her to maintain that renown unimpaired. He also assured his hearers, and the country, that he and his colleagues do not look upon the question of Uganda as a matter of slight Imperial moment. "We," said LORD ROSEBERY—"at any rate I—view it as a country of great possibilities, as the key, perhaps, of Central Africa, as commanding the Nile basin, as the field recently of heroic enterprise, as the land which has been watered by the blood of our saints and martyrs."

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("NEWCASTLE DAILY CHRONICLE," *October 21.*)

UPON the whole, the members and supporters of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, a Deputation from which waited yesterday upon the Foreign Secretary, may congratulate themselves on the nature of the statement which they have extracted from the Government. The Society, in the words of the Memorial presented by the Delegates, "Contemplates with deep apprehension the immediate or even the prospective retirement of British agents from the sphere of action assigned to England in the regions of the Equatorial Lakes of Africa"; because it knows, on the authority of Mr. STANLEY, of Mr. JEPHSON, and of every man competent to express an opinion, that the withdrawal of our representatives will be at once followed by an expansion of the Slave-trade. LORD ROSEBERY's reply, although not so free from ambiguity as could be desired, is not unsatisfactory. In effect, it is that the Government recognise to the full the importance of Uganda, both as the potential key of Central Africa, and as the base from which a fatal blow may be dealt against the hideous traffic which Great Britain, in common with other civilised nations, is pledged to do its utmost to eradicate. Before the Ministry comes to a final decision there are a multiplicity of considerations to be weighed, but, among them, LORD ROSEBERY assured the Memorialists, the great cause of the suppression of Slavery must occupy a commanding place. If this promise be adhered to, if Ministers are determined to fulfil their treaty engagements under this head, if in framing their policy they really allot "a commanding place" to "the great cause of the suppression of Slavery," it is hardly likely that we shall, in future, hear much talk about the evacuation of Uganda, at all events in responsible quarters. We have, as LORD ROSEBERY says, put our hand to the plough, and we cannot go back. To abandon Uganda would, however, be to go back with a vengeance. It is impossible to kill the Slave-trade by operations confined to the littoral. It is impossible even thus to scotch it. At best, we can but pounce down upon an occasional dhow, and liberate its human freight; but that is a mere drop in the ocean. Many of the Slaves are not intended for export at all. Their work is done when the coast has been

reached. But from M'WANGA's kingdom and with command of the Victoria-Nyanza we should be enabled to assail the odious system in its vitals. For this reason, among others, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that there will be any rearward movement.

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(“YORKSHIRE POST,” *October 21.*)

“If it should chance to be your duty to receive an important deputation, and to make a speech without committing your colleagues to anything, refer to the literature of Greece, the laws and road-making of Rome, and to the continuity of the moral policy of this country. These are always ‘safe’ topics, and their skilful treatment gives the effect of mental breadth and sincere sympathy, which must please your hearers.” So some future “Mr. PUNCH,” inditing “Letters to his Son,” may be inclined to say if by any chance he shall have read the reply made by LORD ROSEBERY yesterday to the Anti-Slavery Deputation which waited upon him in order to urge the Government not to permit the abandonment of Uganda. But it was not LORD ROSEBERY's fault that he did no more than remind the Members of the ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION that the question of retaining Uganda is an Imperial concern, to be decided in the first instance by the Government, the nation subsequently expressing its opinion on their decision. There can be little doubt that, if he could speak his mind freely, he would be every bit as strongly in favour of a forward policy as are Mr. ARTHUR PEASE, Mr. ALLEN, the Rev. HORACE WALLER, Sir A. K. ROLLIT, and the other gentlemen who, without distinction of party, have joined in making an appeal to the Government not to be swayed by the rabbit-hearted politicians who would have us scuttle out of everywhere, or protest our abundant sympathy and yet sternly repress any prompting to turn that sympathy to practical purpose. LORD ROSEBERY, indeed, used language which would not have been out of place had he been a member of the Deputation. After admitting that the decision was not one which affected the East Africa Company only, but also the Imperial Government, he went on to say: “We—at any rate I—view it (Uganda) as a country of great possibilities, as the key, perhaps, of Central Africa, as commanding the Nile basin, as the field recently of heroic enterprise, as the land which has been watered by the blood of our saints and martyrs . . . and, Gentlemen, I say that whereas we view Uganda from all these different aspects, in my opinion you represent what Mr. BOSWORTH SMITH eloquently called the ‘continuity of moral policy,’ which Great Britain cannot afford at any time, or under any dispensation, to disregard. Well, that continuity of moral policy is the moral policy by which, in my opinion, this country is to be judged. . . My belief is, Gentlemen, that having put our hands to the plough in that great enterprise we shall not be able, even if we were willing, to go back.” This is very clear as an expression of LORD ROSEBERY's views, but the “We—at any rate I—” is an intimation that there are in the Cabinet influences at work hostile to the continuity of moral policy to which the Foreign Secretary adheres; and it is these influences which LORD ROSEBERY must be assisted to overcome.

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(“SCOTSMAN,” *October 21.*)

LORD ROSEBERY's reply to the Deputation of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, who waited upon him yesterday will be read by his countrymen as settling the future of Uganda. Possibly the Foreign Secretary himself would be the first to disclaim any desire or intention to forestall the decision which the Cabinet may arrive



at on the question. He says, quite truly, that he is not the dictator of that decision—that the problem is not his entirely to solve; that the question is not a Departmental, but an Imperial one. All this may be taken for granted. The public will go past these phrases, and will discover without difficulty the tone and purport of LORD ROSEBERRY's remarks; and it will find them satisfactory. It is the tone of statesmanship; and the purport is that, so far as the word and influence of the head of the Foreign Office are concerned, Britain will not be allowed to forget that she has a reputation to sustain, and an Imperial mission to fulfil, which cannot wholly be measured by the narrow test of present trouble and cost. He desires it to be known, in the first place, that, in the eyes of his colleagues and himself, the fate of Uganda, and of the other countries at the Nile sources, is no matter of indifference or of small moment. He acknowledges that the region is one of great possibilities, and "the key, perhaps, of Central Africa." If they pause before resolving upon the line of policy they are to pursue, it is because they are impressed by a sense of the responsibilities that will be undertaken, either in withdrawing from or remaining in Uganda. Having determined to put their hands to the plough, they will not, if LORD ROSEBERRY's voice has effect, go back. There are other considerations, and other points of view presented, besides those of opening up markets in Africa, of suppressing the Slave-trade at its sources, of fulfilling the pledges and obligations which we have undertaken to the chiefs and people who have placed themselves under the protection of our flag, and of preventing a fair and fertile region of Africa from again becoming the scene of massacre and anarchy. No doubt the pockets of the British taxpayers have to be taken into account among other things; and no wise and just conclusion can be come to unless the question is viewed all round. Those who protest against the evacuation of Uganda, and who advocate that this "key of Central Africa" should be carefully guarded, and brought more securely into our grasp by such means as the construction of a railway from the Indian Ocean to the Victoria-Nyanza, have no reason to fear close inquiry and careful deliberation, always provided that, by delay, vacillation, or cowardly shirking from national duty, the blunders and disasters that have attended previous phases of our African policy are not repeated. The pleasure with which LORD ROSEBERRY's little speech will be read will arise from the belief that the Government is being awakened to a sense both of the nation's wishes, and of its responsibilities in this particular part of the world. The tone of it is in gratifying contrast to the somewhat halting and enigmatical words which he addressed, the other day, to the missionary representatives that waited upon him. More pressure will doubtless be needed. It would be foolish to assume that the victory is won, or is even well assured. There should be no relaxing of the effort to bring to bear upon the minds of the men who have the guiding of the country's policy a true sense of what the country expects of them as guardians of its honour and of its interests.

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("NEWCASTLE LEADER," *October 22.*)

THE Deputation from the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, which waited upon LORD ROSEBERRY on Thursday, achieved a double object. It obtained, in the first place, the most ample assurance that before a final resolution should be arrived at by the Government on the subject of the future of Uganda the philanthropic considerations connected with the question should receive the fullest and most favourable consideration; and it proved, in the second, how hollow and insincere is the partisan cry which has been raised in every quarter of the Unionist camp against the adoption of a policy of

"scuttle" by the present Government. When it is remembered that LORD SALISBURY's Government in June last approved the decision of the East Africa Company to withdraw from territory which it was unable properly to administer not later than the last day of this year, it seems difficult to imagine how their successors by extending the period for three months and promising financial aid to the accomplishment of the task, can have laid themselves open to the taunt of having pursued a cowardly policy. The inconsistencies of Tory criticism, however, baffle explanation, and are as glaringly manifest in this Uganda business as they were when the party whose leader signed the secret SALISBURY-SCHOUVALOFF agreement fell to denouncing Mr. GLADSTONE for truckling to Russia. In the present instance, however, they are a trifle premature, for if LORD ROSEBERY's words mean anything—and they usually indicate exactly that which he wishes to convey—they show that without giving the British East Africa Company any excuse for preparing to continue its operations beyond a limited period, the Government has not yet finally determined that Uganda shall be allowed to relapse into a state of complete barbarism or to fall into the hands of either of the other Powers which have established territorial claims in Africa. As the Foreign Secretary pointed out, a multiplicity of considerations have to be taken into account in deciding an issue which may perhaps be momentous in regard to our future position in Africa. So far as the suppression of Slavery is concerned, there is not a British subject of the Queen who would hesitate to support the expenditure even of millions in placing Uganda under a British protectorate if it were certain the odious traffic in human beings would be extinguished. But, as the Rev. HORACE WALLER pointed out, the whole of the East Coast oozes with the Slave-trade. Scores of thousands of pounds and hundreds of lives were sacrificed in the Soudan upon the same pretext that the re-conquest of the littoral would effectually check the Slave-trade. History has shown the folly of attempting to plaster up the outlets of the disease which curses the interior of Africa, and that any effort which is to be successful must go straight to the source of the traffic.

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("EASTERN EVENING NEWS," *October 21.*)

LORD ROSEBERY's reply to the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY Deputation yesterday was marked by sympathetic interest as well as dignified reserve. The importance of the questions raised by the Deputation—the suggested British occupation of Uganda, and the construction of a railway to the region of the Victoria-Nyanza, in order to suppress the horrors of the Slave-trade—were fully recognised by the Foreign Secretary. LORD ROSEBERY expressed his admiration of the heroic and self-sacrificing policy which had guided England in sweeping away Slave-trade iniquities in times past; and he was sure the British nation would not relinquish so beneficent an enterprise. Therefore, his Lordship was enabled to assure the Deputation that the Anti-Slavery aspect of the Uganda question would have full weight among all the other important considerations involved. Of course, LORD ROSEBERY gave no pledge of Government policy; and the situation remains the same as when the Government offered to assist the British East Africa Company to withdraw before next March. The eloquent reply of LORD ROSEBERY, however, shows that the Uganda question is not yet closed; and that the Government intend to consider it in all its bearings. The abolition of Slavery is dear to Englishmen. But after all, is it quite certain that an English railway and English authority would check the East African Slave system? The greatest authority (Rev. H. WALLER) frankly stated yesterday:—"With regard to

the railway, he was not sanguine enough to believe that it would make any appreciable difference in the export of Slaves from Africa. There were still thousands of Slaves in Zanzibar and Pemba which the people of England had taken in exchange for Heligoland. He was sure that the people of England had no idea, when the exchange was made, that they were taking over so many Slaves." This seems to indicate that the Slave-trade will not be crippled even by a railway costing several millions of money; whilst the recent turbulence and fighting does not speak much for the civilising influence of British authority in Uganda.

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("THE RECORD," *October 21.*)

YESTERDAY the Anti-Slavery Deputation waited on LORD ROSEBERY, and laid their views very fully before him. With all possible allowance for the caution tendered by LORD ROSEBERY, that he is not a "dictator" in this matter, we cannot help regarding his answer as most encouraging. Despite a natural exposure of the singularly maladroit statements of Mr. HORACE WALLER (who, with an entire contempt for time, wandered with painful prolixity from blunder to blunder), LORD ROSEBERY recognised the need of preserving what Mr. BOSWORTH SMITH so happily called "the continuity of our moral policy." The question is one for the Cabinet to decide; but all who heard LORD ROSEBERY's animated speech will agree that he gives us hope. But in the meantime the work of agitation must go on. We are thankful to recognise on all sides evidence that the public mind is becoming more and more alive to the needs of Uganda. In the country preparations are being made for meetings, varying in character, but all designed to bring pressure on the Government. Captain LUGARD himself will speak at many. In London interest in the subject is steadily rising, and much, we may hope, will soon be done.

We must continue to protest against evacuation. A policy of opportunism is in the end as fatal to the nation as it is to the individual. To wait for "something to turn up" is the most approved method of missing opportunities, and in no case is such a policy so surely disastrous as in dealing with semi-civilised peoples. They understand firmness and respect it, whether in a nation or in an individual; they despise vacillation or hesitation, and demonstrate their opinion in ways which are more expressive than agreeable. Englishmen, at any rate, cannot be ignorant that it is the firm hand, the unwavering purpose, the absolute adherence to pledges, expressed or implied, which has given their country its influence in other parts of the world. It is on these lines that our foreign policy must always be framed if we are to continue to occupy a foremost place among the nations. And in dealing with Uganda, the character of the people must be remembered. The Baganda are not the unenlightened savages, the unintelligent "niggers" which even some advisers of the public in this country suppose them to be. Quick-witted and eager as individuals, they are quite shrewd enough as a nation to perceive the slackening of the hand which has restored peace and instituted order among their contending factions. The moment the restraining power is removed the suppressed animosities will spring forth with redoubled energy, and their last state must be infinitely worse than the first. At present the nation is accepting Christianity, soberly, intelligently, steadily. It is a nation eager for education, a nation which will shortly have the whole New Testament in its own language. Are we to remit it to savagery? We hope that the majority of the nation can, while it is yet in time, be brought to see that obligation compels us and interest (if men care to count that) counsels us, on the contrary, not only to remain but to



develop our work in and for that country. Captain LUGARD, in an interesting letter in Monday's *Times*, once more confronts us with the plain fact that there are definite international obligations which this country is bound to carry out—obligations which its retirement from Uganda would practically render impossible of performance. Are these to be ignored? Already the French press is beginning to point the finger of scorn at *perfidie Albion*, the great humanitarian nation on paper, which calls the Powers together to pass resolutions about Africa, and then, when it is her turn to carry out the resolutions, has pressing business in another place. Our country must be above suspicion, and no patriotic Englishman will be content till the policy of the nation with regard to Africa is such that the only effect of such accusations would be to make their authors ridiculous. But there are other obligations more binding than those contained in treaties or conventions. Treaty obligations are for the most part made with Powers only too well able to look after themselves. But our past action in Uganda has put us as a nation under obligations to people less able to protect their own interests, who have therefore greater right, if possible, to call on us to fulfil those obligations with the amplest fidelity.

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("YORKSHIRE POST," October 21.)

ONE of our London Correspondents says that when LORD ROSEBERY entered the room to meet the Uganda Deputation at the Foreign Office yesterday, a singularly representative gathering greeted him. There were London philanthropists and Yorkshire philanthropists, Sir ALBERT ROLLIT representing the London Chamber of Commerce, Mr. C. MACARTHUR, President of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. FRANK SPENCE, representing the commercial interests of Manchester. Old soldiers abounded, one hero of Lucknow, General GEORGE HUTCHINSON, being among them. The clergy—few in number—included Canon GARRATT, of Ipswich, and the Rev. A. R. BUCKLAND. Sir A. ROLLIT's speech was one of the shortest and best; Mr. WALLER's the longest and most unwise. It was universally agreed that LORD ROSEBERY gave the Deputation hope that continued hard work may yet induce the Ministry to save the honour of the country. Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, by-the-by, has thrown in his lot with the anti-evacuation party.

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("EASTERN DAILY PRESS," October 22.)

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY is concerned chiefly with the problem of repressing the Slave-trade. This limitation of view has its disadvantages, for it precludes the Society from considering Imperial responsibility as a whole. We can easily imagine a case in which it might be plausibly urged that by making a forward movement England could strike a great blow at Slavery. Nay, to take the largest hypothesis, if we could annex the whole of Africa we might be in a better position to cope with the Slave-dealers than we are now. But that would not strike public opinion as a sufficient argument for annexation. LORD ROSEBERY used some eloquent language about "the moral continuity" of our policy, but this "moral continuity," fine and impressive phrase as it undoubtedly is, does not bind us to enterprises of great pith and moment which will make an enormous addition to our Imperial burdens for the sake of civilisation. In any decision which may be ultimately arrived at the strange admissions of the Rev. HORACE WALLER should have weight. Mr. WALLER was the friend and companion of LIVINGSTONE, and he may be accepted as an authority on the expediency of suppressing the Slave traffic. But Mr. WALLER

declares that the Mombasa Railway, from which so much is expected, will make no appreciable difference in the exportation of Slaves. More than that, Mr. WALLER asserts, in the most uncompromising fashion, that British administration in Africa has not had that repressive effect on Slavery as an institution which sanguine enthusiasts at home have been led to expect. "At present," says Mr. WALLER, "Slaves are teeming under our protectorate of Zanzibar." According to this authority, the whole of the East Coast of Africa oozes with the Slave-trade. "When Slaves are seen in large numbers they are often taking provisions from Mombasa for the purposes of the British East Africa Company, whose headquarters are in Uganda." This is the testimony of an unprejudiced witness, for Mr. WALLER is opposed to the withdrawal from Uganda. He says that in this region the Slave-trade is now regarded by native opinion as suicidal, the country having already lost such a large part of its population. From this we can only infer that, so far as Uganda is concerned, the plea for a protectorate to suppress Slavery is wholly irrelevant. In Uganda itself the Slave-trade does not exist, and any encouragement that still remains for the institution is given by the Company, who use Slaves in large numbers for the transport of goods. We do not wonder that the partisans of annexation are asking in disgust why Mr. WALLER was invited to join the Deputation to LORD ROSEBURY. We are perfectly satisfied that the Cabinet will look at the whole question in a broad and liberal spirit, and that the final decision will commend itself to the best sense of the country.

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The following Journals also wrote in favour of the non-abandonment of Uganda :—

*Birmingham Argus ; Glasgow Herald ; Notts Evening Post ; Liverpool Mercury ; Dundee Advertiser ; Newcastle Journal ; Western Daily Press ; Liverpool Courier ; Western Mail ; Leicester Post ; Liverpool Daily Post ; Bristol Times and Mirror ; Midland Evening News ; Daily Free Press ; Bradford Observer ; Manchester Examiner and Times ; Birmingham Daily Gazette ; Devon and Exeter Gazette ; The Rock ; West Sussex Times ; Northern Whig (Belfast) ; Belfast Evening Telegraph ; Nottingham Daily Guardian ; Portsmouth Times ; The Guardian.*

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### **Mr. Sydney Burton, M.P.**

COPY of Minute passed by the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, at their Meeting held September 2nd, 1892, EDMUND STURGE, Esq., Vice-President of the Society, presiding :—

*Resolved :—*

"That this Committee has seen with satisfaction the appointment of one of its colleagues, Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, M.P., to the office of Her Majesty's Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and it heartily congratulates him thereon.

"That it also desires to thank Mr. BUXTON for the material assistance rendered by him to the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in the House of Commons during the last Parliament, more especially for the effective manner in which he introduced a Motion for an Address to the Queen, praying Her Majesty to convene an International Conference for dealing with the Slave-trade."

CHAS. H. ALLEN,

55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.

*Secretary.*

## Bishop Tucker and Uganda.

THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY has received from Bishop TUCKER the following letter, addressed to Sir GERALD PORTAL, Her Majesty's Consul-General at Zanzibar :—

“MOMBASA, *September 21, 1892.*

“SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of this day's date, in which you inform me that ‘Her Majesty's Government consider that I and my party proceed to Uganda on our own responsibility and at our own risk.’

“Allow me to say in answer, and I say it with all due respect, that if this intimation implies that Her Majesty's Government disclaims all responsibility for the safety of the English Missionaries in Uganda, should that country be abandoned and given up to civil war and anarchy, then such disclaimer, in my opinion, does not relieve Her Majesty's Government of such responsibility. Personally, I shall be most happy to relieve Her Majesty's Government of all responsibility for my own safety ; but I have a duty to discharge with respect to those Missionaries who hold my license, and who in virtue of that license are now working within my jurisdiction in Uganda, and that duty obliges me to say that should the Imperial British East Africa Company retire from Uganda at the present juncture, and the country be abandoned and given up to disorder, and the lives of any of our Missionaries be sacrificed in consequence, then upon Her Majesty's Government will rest a very heavy and solemn responsibility.

“Let me not be misunderstood. I deprecate in the very strongest terms the idea that Missionaries, in penetrating into savage and uncivilized countries, should look for or expect aid and protection from their Home Government. No proposition could be more preposterous, no contention more absurd. But, if the Missionaries have no right (and clearly they have none) to compromise the Home Government, on the other hand, the Home Government, I maintain, has no right to compromise the Missionaries. And this, I submit, is what Her Majesty's Government has done with respect to Uganda.

“Fifteen years ago our Missionaries entered Uganda carrying their lives, so to speak, in their hands, never looking for, never expecting, Government protection. In course of time Her Majesty's Government granted a Royal Charter to the Imperial British East Africa Company, in which it delegated to the Company its powers of influence and functions of government within the sphere of British influence. In virtue of the powers intrusted to it under that charter, the Imperial British East Africa Company made its appearance in Uganda some two years ago. Its representative at once (on December 26, 1890) entered into a treaty with the King and chiefs. That treaty has now been superseded by another one, signed on April 11, 1892. In both treaties, but more especially in the latter, the Company is pledged, in the strongest possible terms, to protect the King and people and to maintain its position in Uganda.

“Naturally the adherents of the English Mission supported the English Resident in the exercise of those powers intrusted to him by the English Government, through the Imperial British East Africa Company. The result was that they incurred the hatred and hostility of all the other parties in the State.

“To tear up these treaties that have been signed after having thus compromised the English Missionaries and their adherents, and on the faith of which the latter were led to cast in their lot with the English Company, to break pledges given in the most solemn manner, to repudiate obligations entered into with deliberation and aforethought, and then to disclaim all responsibility for the consequences that must



inevitably ensue, would be, to my mind, to adopt a course of action that I dare not at the present moment trust myself to characterise, and one that I cannot believe for a moment would ever be sanctioned by any Government of Her Majesty the Queen.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

"ALFRED, Bishop East Equatorial Africa.

"To Sir GERALD PORTAL, C.B., K.C.M.G., Her Majesty's

"Consul-General, Zanzibar."

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## The Rev. Horace Waller on Technical Slavery.

*To the Editor of THE TIMES.*

SIR,—Whom *The Times* "slates" it hears. Availing myself of this fact, I shall venture to ask your permission to reply to some remarks in your leading article of to-day's issue respecting the Uganda Deputation.

As a member of a Society which is supposed to make a study of things relating to the Central African Slave-trade, one feels that both the Government of this country and the public have a right to look to it for such details as may serve to guide towards rational treatment, and it is manifestly the duty of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to turn important opportunities to account in setting forth what it believes to be the greatest hindrances to the abolition of the traffic in Central African Slaves.

For several years the Society has been impressed with the belief that the growing tendency on the part of Europeans to give up all idea of employing free natives, in a chicken-hearted sort of way, has had more to do with stimulating Slave-raiding and Slave-trading than it is comfortable to think of.

You will then, excuse me, I trust, if I deal with "that technical Slavery which is the only form of service for the present at the (Imperial British East Africa) Company's disposal."

In the year 1861 Her Majesty's Foreign Office deprived the British Consul at the Island of Johanna, in the Comoro group, of his Consulate, because on his sugar plantations he would resort to "the only form of service" available—viz., the employment of African Slaves, who worked for a small wage, whilst their Arab owners were paid large sums for their use.

If there was one thing clearer than another in those days it was that no Englishman could run counter to the will and intentions of his own country (by employing Slaves) except at his own peril.

As Her Majesty's Consul in Central Africa, Dr. LIVINGSTONE made a great point of this. With all eyes upon him, both those of the oppressor and oppressed, he spared no pains to show the Africans that to follow in the train, or to be in the company of a British agent, meant freedom neither more nor less.

When on his last journey he arrived at M'Ponda's town his servant WAKOTANI found some relatives. The lad himself had been liberated some years previously from a Slave-gang, and LIVINGSTONE feared that if he granted him his wish and allowed him to stay in the town he might again be sold. But herein lay the dilemma. If he insisted upon his going on, the natives would disbelieve the assertion that all were free men in his following, so reluctantly he had to leave WAKOTANI where he was.

And this leads one on to a far more serious episode.

Mr. STANLEY left LIVINGSTONE, and returned to England, in 1872. To the dismay of most of us, we found that he had a commission from his newly-made friend, which was to take precedence over everything, and, as a matter of fact, it did so.

Partly from misunderstanding, and partly from the impossibility of agents at Zanzibar controlling the whole line of communications to Ujiji, LIVINGSTONE's stores had been pillaged to an alarming extent, previous to the arrival of Mr. STANLEY with relief. The fault lay with the Slave-porters. This, to the upright mind of LIVINGSTONE, was intolerable. I have letters before me indited by him in the bitterest spirit. I will only quote a line or two, written at Ujiji, in 1871, where he complains of his being baffled in his explorations by others "intrusting Slaves with my supplies, though the whole world knows that Her Majesty's Government objects to its officers employing Slave labour."

If Mr. STANLEY will permit me to say so, I do not think he ever put his back so vigorously into anything as he did in carrying out these denunciations; but this I will leave to those who care to turn to his execrations of the employment of Slave labour hired from Arabs; they are to be found more particularly in the *Daily News* of the date.

Thus, sir, we have got on from the year 1861 to 1872, and the question is how far in 1892 we have improved upon "technical Slavery."

*Tempora mutantur et nos*—well, to facts; they will show how men can change; the question is in which direction.

In 1887 we see Mr. STANLEY sailing from Zanzibar for the Congo. The vessel under him belongs to the largest British shipping company in the world; the coals she burns are furnished by the British Government. The greatest anomaly, perhaps, is the presence of the most notorious Slave-trader in Central Africa, TIPPOO-TIPPOO, who takes passage with hundreds of Slaves, to whom four months' advance pay had been handed. But we will pass to the west side of Africa, now, and read the words of Major BARTELOT, as he has time to reflect on the fate of the "Zanzibaris" in camp. "Three-quarters of our men are Slaves, and when they get to Zanzibar, poor fellows, they only receive one-fourth of their money; the rest goes to their master." (*Life of E. M. Barttelot*, page 242).

Turning to various sources of information, I gather that 450 out of the 680 men who started died in the service of the Emin Expedition.

To show how a mischief will grow, we must still pass on to observe that it becomes necessary to construct a railway, under Belgian auspices, in order to circumvent the falls of the Congo, where upward river traffic ceases. Lamentable as it is to relate it, shiploads of Slaves, "the only form of service for the present" at KING LEOPOLD's disposal, have been sent off to the Congo, and there remain many of their bones.

And so we come down to the year 1891, when one finds that not only is the same method resorted to, which I felt it my duty to remind the EARL OF ROSEBURY of yesterday, but that it is perilously near being taken for granted that there is no particular harm in it.

Is it necessary again to harrow the feelings of those who have read of the doings of TIPPOO-TIPPOO and men of his kind in order to show how this "Technical Slavery" is supplied?

If there is one thing better known concerning Africa than another, it is that for every one of these men carrying a package, whether to Uganda or elsewhere, some ten lives have been lost in the Slave-preserves whence they came. Bid a file of these

hired "porters" fall in, and put a MACKAY or a WILSON to interpret the tale they have to tell, and I will answer for it eyes would be opened which no power of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has ever yet been able to open. Forgive me if I say that I dread this term "Technical Slavery." I know the Slaves are paid so much down, and their masters so much too. I know that what the master receives for the trip of his Slave is often enough for him to buy two more raw Slaves with. I know how these raw Slaves are got, and whence they come to market; and I know that Central Africa will be kept in a state of turmoil till we deal with the master as he deserves, and the Slaves as England's best instincts expect. If silver half-crowns fail me and I go into my back premises with pewter and plaster of Paris, there to make coin for myself, the police will have something to say to me eventually. If I tell the magistrate that I had no coins of the realm available, and needs must resort to such as I could turn out, I think he might make my three months six.

It seems to me that the edge of the nation's conscience is turned on this question of Slavery, and that the result and outcome of the thirty years which I have brought under observation is that we coquet with evil that good may come. There is generally a Nemesis to be found hard on the heels of this line of procedure. It is not strange, for instance, that the Congo railway has come to a deadlock already.

With one exception, I do not believe that any Director on the Board of the Imperial British East Africa Company ever was anywhere near an African sphere of Slave-raiding. It is in this manner that one acquits them, for they are the very pick of honourable men. The fact is that the whole thing has got into an inextricable muddle, and he who salves over wounds which actually require far different treatment will not, at all events, be acting up to words which we all listened to yesterday.

It will doubtless be said, "If free labour cannot be procured, are you to stand still?" The answer is, Go to Nyassaland, which thirty years ago was as a playground for Slave-raiders, and watch the progress there. Immense plantations are worked by men who travel hundreds of miles to gain fair wages for free labour, and there is now plenty of evidence also at the gold and diamond fields that you can do without Slaves or any form of Slavery. But then the will has been present and the way found, as it can yet be in Equatorial Africa.

I would fain ask permission of you, Sir, to add yet one word to prevent misconception respecting the Lake railway. Just as a new street in London breaks a way for the well-disposed to reach those haunts which crime loves, and which are hard to get at without; just as light, life, and traffic come where all was danger before, so will this projected railway from the coast put us within arm's strike and control of those districts, not in Uganda at all, but its northern dependencies, which are marked out by the Slave-raiders for their future work.

Once really set to work with a civilising centre in Central Africa and the opportunity cries to you—you have hit the bull's-eye instead of sticking arrows into the straw edge of the target. The effect of developing the Equatorial Lake Provinces in our sphere of influence will be profound as regards the Slave-trade, and towards this end a railway must be of the very utmost importance; no one believes this more than myself. But to construct a sort of Oxford Street Slave route from Uganda to Mombasa or other coast town for the sake of argument, and where no one has discovered it yet, is beyond the limits of one's venturesomeness.

LORD ROSEBERY's magnificent setting of this country's duty towards the poor nations of the earth with whom God has placed us in touch, I think, made everyone



leave the room at the Foreign Office a better Englishman than he entered it, and encourages the mere individual to act up to the clear sharp note which he struck ; thus I feel I need not apologise, being "really in earnest," as you advise, for what I have said.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Twywell Rectory, Thrapston, *October 21, 1892.*

HORACE WALLER.

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*From "THE TIMES," October 27, 1892.*

SIR,—As one most keenly interested in every phase of the Slave-trade question, I hope you will kindly allow me to say a brief word on the subject of "Technical Slavery," on which, in your issue of to-day, two letters appear, from Mr. HORACE WALLER and Mr. STANLEY. On my first short trip into East Africa to explore the Sabakhi River I had very few "Zanzibaries" in my caravan, which consisted mainly of Rabai free men, and of the fugitive Slaves of Fuladoyo, who had taken service with me to work out their own emancipation under a system proposed by myself and cordially accepted and inaugurated by Mr. MACKENZIE, the then Administrator. I was not at that time aware that Zanzibaries hiring themselves out as porters were frequently Slaves. I learnt this later, but in the meantime, before I left the coast on my second journey (which eventually took me to Uganda), the proclamation of August 1, 1890, which was practically the death-blow to Slavery in East Africa, was promulgated. Among the various clauses of this admirable proclamation none was more important than that which enacted that any Slave had the right of purchasing his own freedom at a reasonable price, to be assessed by the Kathi. This clause alone would have been sufficient to stamp the proclamation as an invaluable instrument for the suppression of Slavery. To obtain the liberation of Slaves under this clause it would be necessary, of course, to detach the Slave from his master, and give him the opportunity of earning independent wages wherewith to purchase his freedom. For this purpose the employment of these Slaves as porters in my caravan was fully justified. It was, in fact, merely an extension of the plan I had been carrying out with the fugitive Slaves. I had pictured to myself that on my return to the coast I should be able to effect the liberation of every Slave in my caravan. While in Uganda, however, I was astounded to hear that this clause had been cancelled almost immediately after the proclamation was made. There seemed a mystery about the matter ; no one knew rightly by whom, when, and how this radical alteration had been made, which practically annulled the most important provision of the Act. Greatly disappointed, I made it my business to inquire fully into the truth of this matter on my arrival at the coast last September. I then heard, on the best possible authority, that the revocation of this clause had been absolutely unknown to Her Majesty's Consul-General, Sir CHARLES EUAN SMITH, through whose efforts the proclamation had been made by the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR. On arrival in England I was anxious further to investigate this curious and anomalous state of things. The result is that an official copy of the second proclamation now lies before me, dated August 20, 1890, the second clause of which runs as follows :—"If any Slave brings money to the Kathi to purchase his freedom his master shall not be forced to take the money." Comment is needless. There is an absolute necessity that certain goods be conveyed to the stations in the interior of the Company's possessions. No one more than the individual directors themselves (as Mr. STANLEY points out) could be more averse to any possible system which would foster the Slave-trade. And that this employment of Slaves—as *Slaves*

—does foster the Slave-trade I agree with Mr. WALLER. There remain two solutions. First, the substitution of other modes of transport, *par excellence* a railway, at least through the foodless and waterless, tsetse fly zone, beyond which animal transport can be used. Second, the re-insertion of the clause in the proclamation of August, 1890, enabling Slaves to purchase their freedom, after which it will be legitimate to employ them so as to enable them to pay for their freedom. In any case I earnestly hope that before long the British authorities will see their way to again enacting this invaluable measure. The men in question are wedded to caravan life, and will follow no other. If unemployed by the Company they will hire themselves to Arabs and others, and the evil remains.

Your obedient servant,

October 25, 1892.

F. D. LUGARD, Capt.

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"ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER" OFFICE.

November 9, 1892.

THE present issue of the *Reporter* has been delayed in order to admit of the Rev. HORACE WALLER's reply to criticisms which have appeared, on the speech delivered by him, on the occasion of LORD ROSEBERY receiving a Deputation from the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

### Letter from the Rev. Horace Waller to the President of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

TWYWELL, NEAR THRAPSTON, 8th November, 1892.

DEAR MR. PEASE,—In accordance with a suggestion which, I think, fell from you at the last Committee Meeting of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, I send you an account of some of the circumstances which led me, when addressing LORD ROSEBERY, on the 20th ult., to adopt a line of argument somewhat different, I find, to that which had both been anticipated and expected of me in speaking on behalf of our Society.

I had, in fact, an opportunity, an hour before the meeting at the Foreign Office, of conferring with Captain LUGARD, thus gaining information concerning Uganda quite up to date. But at that late moment I also found there were complications in the problem of maintaining a hold on Uganda which the public were evidently ignorant of, but which, if dwelt upon, might lend a powerful argument to those who—like ourselves—felt that the abandonment of the country must lead to bloodshed and untold misery in the future.

I discovered, moreover, that certain stereotyped notions regarding Uganda were demolished when I came face to face with the man who had, but as yesterday, returned from it.

You will remember that the Society formulated its appeal to the Foreign Secretary in an address which was "taken as read" when the proceedings commenced.

Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, from the Indian official's point of view, kept within the four corners of our Memorial. It was inevitable that many of the speakers—to whom the special knowledge which we in our Society (and as a *spécialité*) possess, is denied—would do the same.

As there was a chance of breaking in upon the monotonous reiteration that "the Slave-trade" would be annihilated by a railway, and that faction fighting would ensue upon evacuation, I availed myself of it.

It seemed to me good news—too good to keep to oneself—that Uganda was at

peace up to the 18th of August for certain, and I ventured to inform those present of this fact. There was an extra argument against evacuating Uganda. The nature of, and the power for good or evil, which lay in the hands of the Egyptian troops, I deemed it right to mention. Captain LUGARD had laid much stress upon it. The Imperial British East Africa Company, whose watchword was "Philanthropy," and whose main spring of action was opposition to the "Slave-trade," was embarrassing the Consul-General at Zanzibar by employing "porters," many of whom were Slaves—a matter which our Society has taken under its urgent care. Captain LUGARD had drawn my attention a few moments before to a startling transaction in this connection, only too well-known to us all. I refer to the cancellation of the Sultan's Edict of August 1, 1890. I admit that his own shocking experience of this piece of perfidy towards the Company's employed Slaves, and his own chagrin, were not without their effect upon me when I entered the Foreign Office, and I spoke from the fulness of the heart, rather than in the measured chime of one of whom it seems it was expected that he should take his part with others in composing variations—slight variations—to one monotonous dirge concerning Uganda's abandonment. Let this, however, pass. I take it that our Society is always looked to for details concerning the ramifications of the Slave-trade. I conceive that where errors possess the public mind, we, as a body, have a duty imposed upon us to correct them; and, where special evils exist, we should point them out without fear or favour. I believe that we hold it good to be utterly independent of political swayings to one side or the other, and our sense of responsibility should hold us free from the entanglements which might arise from too intimate associations with the affairs of mercantile companies or the exigencies of the newspaper press. If I stepped to the front and boldly denied that there was an arterial Slave route from the Victoria Lake to the coast (which a railway would destroy), it was because I had taken pains to ascertain first from the Church Missionary Society that they knew nothing of it, a statement confirmed to me by Captain LUGARD. If I denounced the Slave-leading proclivities of Mr. STANLEY, and coupled them, as evils, with the matter-of-course assumption which is growing up, viz., that if you are a British subject in East Africa you may encourage the Slave-trade with your right hand, as long as you conceal the fact from your left. If I saw it was an opportunity—perhaps *the* opportunity—to startle Englishmen by telling them they had exchanged an island full of free men (Heligoland) for two islands full of Slaves (Zanzibar and Pemba), I did it honestly and sincerely, out of the anti-Slave-trading spirit which permeates us all, as friends in council; and I have no other apology that I can attune my tongue to, or set my pen to write. A sense of pain is with me when I think that some confusion has followed my act, but I cherish a sincere belief that we may yet see order come out of it. For I think that the Society never ceases to hope that the Government of this country will one day listen to our representations upon the disastrous employment of Slaves, upon the revocation of the clause which enabled Slaves to gain freedom, and upon the advisability of abolishing the "legal status of Slavery." To these points I observe that my remarks have drawn considerable attention. Whether bold words are really "in season or out of season" has, sometimes, to be left to the future, and the verdict lies with events. I would fain plead for judgment deferred for a while, and remain, meantime,

My dear Mr. PEASE, yours faithfully,

HORACE WALLER.

To ARTHUR PEASE, Esq.,

President of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.